Eighty-eighth Year. Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur. Vol. 175: No. 2.

THE

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

EDITED BY GEORGE HARVEY.

August, 1902.

Cuba's Claim upon the United States . . . . O. H. PLATT,
United States Senator from Connecticut.

The Marquis of Salisbury . . . . . SYDNEY BROOKS

British Preferential Trade and Imperial Defence,
JOHN CHARLTON, M.P.,
Member of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission.

Henryk Sienkiewicz and his Writings, Comte S. C. de SOISSONS

The Effort to Abolish the Duel,
H. R. H. Prince ALFONSO de BOURBON et AUTRICHE-ESTE

State Protection for Ocean Travellers,
Rear-Admiral G. W. MELVILLE,
Engineer-in-Chief of the United States Navy.

The Outlook in South Africa { The Rt. Hon. L. H. COURTNEY, M.P.
The Hon. ALFRED LYTTELTON, M.P.

My Hunt for Hamilton's Mother . . . GERTRUDE ATHERTON

The Constitution of Carnegia . . . JAMES RAYMOND PERRY

Extension of American Influence in the West Indies, L. S. ROWE,
Chairman of the Commission to Revise the Laws of Porto Rico.

The Future of Wireless Telegraphy . . . . P. T. McGRATH

National Debts of the World.—XII. The Public Debt of Turkey,
CHARLES MORAWITZ

NEW YORK:
FRANKLIN SQUARE.

LONDON:
WM. HEINEMANN, 21 Bedford St., W. C.

PARIS:
BRENTANO'S, 37 Avenue de l'Opéra.

Single Number, 50c. Published Monthly. Per Annum, $5.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW
HARPER'S WEEKLY

Edited by GEORGE HARVEY

A NEW AND UNIQUE IDEA IN WEEKLY JOURNALISM

Two Periodicals for the Price of One

The **New York Journal** says:

We wish to say emphatically that the new "Harper's Weekly" is a work of intelligence, that it appeals strongly to the most important class in America, the class of those who think, and that it will outstrip its competitors unless they shall emulate its efforts. . . . The influence of a vigorous personality is seen on every page.

The **New York Mail and Express** says:

The publication of the "new" "Harper's Weekly" is an event of importance. . . . The paper meets squarely the new needs of the greater nation that has come into existence with the beginning of the twentieth century. . . . It deals crisply and with authority with all aspects of our life—political, social, and economic.

The **New York World** says:

On every page it anticipates and meets the public wants in the field which "Harper's Weekly" so admirably fills.

The **New York Commercial Advertiser** says:

No one who has followed "Harper's Weekly" closely for the past few months can fail to have noticed the progressive appearance of the periodical from the literary as well as the pictorial point of view. Further evidence of the editor's determination to make the journal conspicuous and thoroughly modern is given in the number for the fifth of the month . . . a notable issue . . . this periodical is entering upon a new and distinctly promising era.

The **New York Herald** says:

"Harper's Weekly," under the editorship of Mr. George Harvey, is establishing a new record for itself. It is remarkable for the number, variety, and excellence of its illustrations, especially the colored ones, which mark an epoch in the history of illustrated weeklies. The editorial columns are forcible, terse, and interesting. Altogether, the new management is to be congratulated on its success.

The **Chicago Record-Herald** says:

One of the most striking successes of modern journalism.

It is the largest and best-illustrated journal in America, with intelligible comments upon all current events worth considering.

10c. a Copy ❧ *For Sale Everywhere* ❧ **$4.00 a Year**

Copyright, 1902, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING CO. All rights reserved.
Entered at the Post-Office at New York, and admitted for transmission through the mails, as second-class matter.
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

For Beauty and Economy

It beautifies the complexion, keeps the hands white and fair and imparts a constant bloom of freshness to the skin.

As it is the best and lasts longest, it is the cheapest-when worn to the thinness of a wafer, moisten and stick the worn piece on the new cake-never a particle is lost if you use

Pears' Soap

All rights secured.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.

RHODE ISLAND.

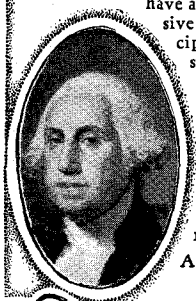
Friends School

For Boys and Girls

PROVIDENCE, R. I.

Moses Brown Founder. 1784

Moses Brown, a member of the Society of Friends, founded this school five years before Washington became President. The history of its growth is contemporary with that of the Government. Changed conditions have always been met with progressive methods, but the sound principles of thoroughness and high standards of character have ever remained the guiding influence of the school. Open to all *denominations*. Prepares for college and for business life. Courses in Music and Art. Fine grounds for outdoor sports. Large endowments make low tuition rate. For catalogue address



AUGUSTINE JONES, LL.B., Principal.

MASSACHUSETTS.

ROGERS HALL SCHOOL FOR GIRLS

Healthfully located. Faces Rogers Fort Hill Park. Four acres of beautiful grounds devoted to outdoor sports. Golf, Tennis, Basket-Ball, Field Hockey. Certificate admits to Smith, Vassar, Wellesley, Wells, and Mt. Holyoke. Each pupil a subject of personal care, influence, and instruction.

MRS. E. P. UNDERHILL, M.A., PRINCIPAL
Lowell, Mass.

MASSACHUSETTS, Worcester.

The Highland Military Academy.

47th year. Very healthful location. Preparation for college, scientific, or business life. Newly equipped laboratories. Athletic field. The Rt. Rev. Alexander H. Vinton, D.D., Visitor. JOSEPH ALDEN SHAW, A.M., Head Master.

MASSACHUSETTS, Boston, Isaac Rich Hall, Ashburton Place.

Boston University Law School.

Opens October 1, 1902.

SAMUEL C. BENNETT, Dean.

ROCK RIDGE A SCHOOL FOR BOYS at Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts

NEW YORK.

NEW YORK, Riverside Drive, 85th and 86th Streets.

The Misses Ely's School for Girls.

NEW YORK, 30, 32, 34 East 57th Street.

The Peebles and Thompson School.

Boarding and Day School for Girls. Opens October 1.

NEW YORK CITY, Washington Square.

New York University.

Comprehends eight schools. The LAW SCHOOL (with Day and Evening Classes), MEDICAL COLLEGE, GRADUATE SCHOOL, PEDAGOGY, APPLIED SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, VETERINARY COLLEGE, and COMMERCE ACCOUNTS AND FINANCE.

For circulars, address

THE REGISTRAR.

NEW YORK, Tarrytown-on-Hudson.

Home Institute.

A Boarding and Day School for Girls. College preparation.

Miss M. W. METCALF, Principal.

MICHIGAN.

MICHIGAN, Houghton.

Michigan College of Mines.

An Engineering School with unique location, giving it unusual facilities. New Mining Engineering and Hydraulic Building, also Chemical and Metallurgical Building ready for fall term, 1902. For catalogue, giving list of graduates and their occupations, address

F. W. MCNAIR.

MARYLAND.

MARYLAND, Frederick.

The Woman's College.

A successful, progressive school, well organized and equipped. A strong Music Conservatory, Elocution and Art. Rates *moderate*. A healthful locality, just south of Mason and Dixon line. J. H. APPLE, A.M., President.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

THE PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY
1781–1902

122nd year will open on Wednesday, September 17, 1902. For catalogue, with pamphlet of views, address

HARLAN P. AMEN, Principal.

EXETER, N. H.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER.

O. H. PLATT

was born at Washington, Connecticut, in 1827. He studied law at Litchfield, and on being admitted to the bar in 1849, he entered on the practice of his profession at Meriden. At an early stage in his career, he began to take an active interest in political affairs. In 1855-56, he was clerk of the State Senate, and in the following year he was secretary of the State of Connecticut. He was a member of the State Senate in 1861-62, and of the State House of Representatives in 1864 and 1869, serving during the latter year as Speaker of the body. In 1879, he took his seat in the United States Senate, to which he was re-elected in 1885, 1890 and 1897. Senator Platt was the author of the resolution, known by his name, which was passed by Congress at the outbreak of the Spanish war, to the effect that "the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island (Cuba), except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination, when that is accomplished, to leave the government and the control of the island to its people."

SYDNEY BROOKS

was the subject of a note in the REVIEW for March, 1900.

JOHN CHARLTON

was educated in the United States, having been born near Caledonia in the State of New York in 1829. When a lad, he removed with his parents to Canada, and after working for four years on his father's farm, he opened a general country store at Lynedoch. He embarked in 1861 in the lumber business, in which he met with immediate success, and he has long been counted as one of the "lumber princes" of the province of Ontario. In 1872, he was elected a member of the Canadian House of Commons, and he has retained his seat in that body since that time. During his parliamentary

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

career he has initiated much useful legislation, and for years he has held a prominent place among the leading statesmen of the Dominion. He is a member of the Anglo-American Joint High Commission which was appointed some years ago in the hope that Canadian questions at issue between Great Britain and the United States might be settled by amicable discussion. Mr. Charlton has been a consistent advocate of extensive reciprocity of trade between Canada and the American Union.

COMTE S. C. DE SOISSONS

was the pioneer of Sienkiewicz's fame, having written many articles on the great Pole when his genius and his work were very little known. He has translated three volumes of Sienkiewicz's writings. The Count can boast of belonging to the oldest nobility on the continent of Europe, one of his ancestors in the tenth century having been an independent ruler. He was born in Paris in 1859; in 1880 he graduated at the University of France, and his post-graduation studies embraced law, languages and the history of art. He has travelled through many countries—Austria, Hungary, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Russia; and in 1890, he visited Canada and the United States, and, as a result, published two books, one on American Art, and the other on America, its customs, manners, and political and religious institutions. He has been a frequent contributor to English periodicals, and he is the author of many short stories and essays on art and literature.

H. R. H. PRINCE ALFONSO DE BOURBON ET AUTRICHE ESTE

is the younger brother of Don Carlos, the pretender to the Spanish throne. He is a scion of the ancient house of Bourbon. Several of his ancestors were rulers of France, notably Henry of Navarre, who became Henry IV. on ascending the French throne. The Spanish branch of the Bourbon-Anjou family, to which Prince Alfonso belongs, was founded by the grandson of Louis XIV., Philip, Duke of Anjou, who, renouncing all rights of succession to the French throne, became King of Spain in 1700 under the title of Philip V. Prince Alfonso was born in London in 1849, and lives for the most part at the Château d'Ebenzweier in Upper Aus-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tria. He married the Portuguese princess, Marie of Braganza.

Rear-Admiral G. W. Melville, U. S. N.

A note regarding this distinguished American was published in the number of the Review for April, 1901.

The Rt. Hon. Leonard Courtney

entered the House of Commons in 1876 as member for Liskeard, a constituency which he represented till 1885, when he was returned to Parliament by the Bodmin Division of Cornwall. He was Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department in 1880-81, and for the Colonial Office in 1881-82, and Financial Secretary to the Treasury from that time to 1884. From 1886 to 1892 he was Chairman of Committees and Deputy Speaker. Mr. Courtney was Professor of Political Economy in University College, London, from 1872 to 1875. He has been a large contributor to *The Times* and the *Nineteenth Century*, and he has recently published a scholarly and comprehensive treatise on "The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom and its Outgrowths" which is, in a smaller compass, a reproduction of the scheme of Mr Bryce's "American Commonwealth."

The Hon. Alfred Lyttelton

has represented Leamington, Warwick, in Parliament since 1895. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, and from 1882 to 1886, he was Legal Private Secretary of the Attorney-General, Sir H. James. A short time ago, he was sent to South Africa by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Chamberlain, to investigate on the spot the claims which had been made by foreigners against the British Government for compensation for damages. Mr. Lyttelton's name is familiar to those who are interested in outdoor sports. He has captained the Eton and Cambridge elevens; and he has represented Cambridge in cricket, football, tennis, racquets and athletics, and England in cricket and football.

Gertrude Atherton

is well known to readers of American fiction, and those who have perused her latest work, "The Conqueror," will read the account of her hunt for Hamilton's mother with uncommon interest. Mrs. Atherton, who is a great-grandniece of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Benjamin Franklin, was born and educated in California. She has lived much abroad. Among her writings may be mentioned "The Californians," "A Daughter of the Vine," "Senator North," and "American Wives and English Husbands."

JAMES RAYMOND PERRY

was born in Northfield, Massachusetts, and educated in the public schools in Winchendon in the same State. He was employed in various offices in the latter town till 1890, when he went to Chicago to take a position with a large Illinois corporation. In 1892, a short poem from his pen was accepted by Mr. Howells during that gentleman's brief editorship of *The Cosmopolitan;* and since then he has contributed fiction and verse to a number of the leading periodicals.

L. S. ROWE

was the subject of a short note in the REVIEW for July, 1901.

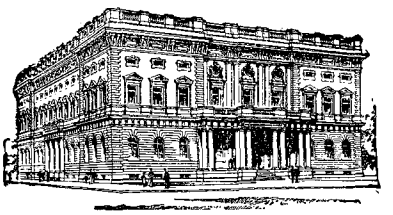
CHARLES MORAWITZ,

a Director of the Anglo-Austrian Bank in Vienna, is a European financier of the highest standing. He is thoroughly informed upon all matters and transactions of the Ottoman Government, with which he has been in constant contact ever since the construction of the lines of railway in European Turkey.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

MASSACHUSETTS.



This shows the
Magnificent New Home of the

New England CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC

With this equipment we can now surpass even the wonderful results of the past 48 years.
Music and Elocution in all branches.

YEAR-BOOK ON REQUEST.

GEORGE W. CHADWICK,
Director.
FRANK W. HALE, General Manager, Boston, Mass.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW

School Advertising Rates

One-quarter page, one insertion,	-	$15.00
One-eighth page, " "	-	7.50
One inch, " "	-	5.00
One-half inch, " "	-	3.00

Less than one-half inch 50 cents an agate line for each insertion.

Time Discounts

All of the above rates are subject to the following discounts for repeated insertions: three months, 5 per cent.; six months, 10 per cent.; twelve months, 20 per cent.

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW
FRANKLIN SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY

The
"Big Four"
A Railroad
Of the People
Operated
For the People
And Recognized
By the People

As the standard passenger line of the Central States.
2,500 miles of railway in
Ohio-Indiana-Illinois
Kentucky and Michigan
Through Sleepers between

New York, Boston, Washington } *And* { *Cincinnati, Chicago, St. Louis*

Finest Day Coaches Ever Built.
Write for folders.

Warren J. Lynch, Gen'l Pass. & Tkt. Agt.
W. P. Deppe, Asst. Gen'l P. & T. A.
CINCINNATI, OHIO.

FIVE POINTS OF EXCELLENCE

Leaving the center of the city from which you start; reaching the center of the city of your destination; over smooth and level tracks, giving rest and comfort; riding beside running waters most of the way; through the centers of population to the gateways of commerce—when you travel by the

NEW YORK CENTRAL LINES

A copy of the Illustrated Catalogue of the "Four-Track Series" will be sent free upon receipt of a two-cent stamp by George H. Daniels, General Passenger Agent, New York Central & Hudson River Railroad, Grand Central Station, New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

RICHFIELD SPRINGS

Lackawanna Railroad

On Lake Canadarago, 1,500 feet above sea level, combining the charms of lake, mountain and spa; white sulphur springs; golf; boating; splendid roads for bicycling and automobiling; daily parlor and sleeping car service from New York via Lackawanna Railroad.

"Mountain and Lake Resorts," a beautifully illustrated book, will give complete information. This book also contains a series of delightful vacation stories, entitled the "Experiences of Pa." Sent on request, accompanied by 5 cents in postage stamps, to T. W. LEE, General Passenger Agent, New York City.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW.

No. DXLIX.

AUGUST, 1902.

CUBA'S CLAIM UPON THE UNITED STATES.

BY O. H. PLATT, UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM CONNECTICUT.

A LITTLE more than four years ago the United States declared war against Spain; it also declared the purpose of the war in which it was about to engage. It gave notice to the world that its object was not conquest or acquisition, that it proposed to liberate the people of Cuba from unendurable oppression and to assist them in the establishment of an independent republic. In all the history of mankind no other instance of a war for such a high, noble, and unselfish purpose can be found. The national conscience asserted itself, and the people were of one heart and one mind. The war was over in a hundred days, but its consequences will last for generations. As a nation we were strong and resourceful; we put forth our strength and used our resources with no thought of repayment; a free Cuba, a new republic were to be our sufficient reward. The world approved and admired our course. The question which now confronts us is whether we shall go forward or turn back; whether we shall complete our success, or permit our effort to result only in ignominious failure.

The doings of nations are like the acts of individuals; motive and action make character both in men and in nations. It is the man of pure motive, of brave deeds and steady purpose who builds for himself a noble character. If the motive, the deed and the purpose are but feeble and soon abandoned, the resultant

Copyright, 1902, by THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW PUBLISHING COMPANY. All rights reserved

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

character is ignoble. So with us as a people. Though our purpose was lofty, though our triumph was striking, if we fail now in accomplishment we shall be either pitied or despised. Nations, like men, incur honorable obligations. If fulfilled to the letter, true growth is the result; if ignored, by men or nations, the just contempt of mankind is incurred. Our obligation did not cease when Spain was driven from Cuba, or when years of careful and unselfish administration resulted in the establishment of the Cuban republic. When we undertook to put an end to bad government in Cuba, we became responsible for the establishment, and the maintenance as well, of a good government there. The world will properly hold us bound in all honor so to treat the republic which we ourselves have set up that it shall be both prosperous and stable. The United States, if true to its history and its character, must train up its child in the way it should go, so that when old it will not depart from it.

If these words had been written when we set foot on Cuban soil at Daiquiri, they would have met with universal approval, and the exceptional individual who might have predicted that we would tire of our work, and leave Cuba to struggle on unaided by us as soon as its government should have been created on paper and established in name, would have been denounced as nearly akin to a traitor. He would at least have been told that he understood neither the purpose nor the spirit of our people.

In transactions between nations we hear much in these days about "spheres of influence," and perhaps no better interpretation of that phrase is to be found than in the relations which should exist between the United States and Cuba. We are great and strong. We have had a century and a quarter of republican experience. Cuba is small and weak, without experience, a new beginner in self-government. The Island lies within a hundred miles of our shores. It is bound to us by location, by helplessness, and, until now, by the sentiment of gratitude. Thanks to the United States, it is a free and independent government. It is in no sense a dependency, and yet in the truest sense it is a dependent neighbor. Cuba committed her future to us when, in the depth of her misery, she accepted our intervention. We as truly assumed her care when we proffered that intervention.

The United States must have a policy with regard to Cuba. The present question is, what that policy shall be. In the solu-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion of this question, not only our good name and character, but our own interests are most intimately involved. The fate of the United States is interwoven with the fate of Cuba.

There are three policies, any of which may be pursued by the United States. First, we may treat Cuba with indifference and neglect; second, as a commercial rival to be feared and curbed; third, with a friendly consideration which shall insure her prosperity, stability and gratitude. Until Congress met in December last, the people of the United States entertained no doubt as to which of the three policies should be pursued. We were in honor bound not to neglect Cuba. We had never thought of her as a commercial rival to be feared, but rather as a constituent part of our commercial system. Every obligation of duty and of self-interest demanded our friendly consideration. It may well be doubted whether one per cent. of our people, before the assembling of the last Congress, would have tolerated the idea that Cuba should be treated in any other way than as a neighbor and a close friend. And yet there developed during the winter and early summer a sentiment, founded on misapprehension and prejudice, which was strong enough to defeat for the time being any remedial or beneficent legislation in her behalf. During all the period of our military occupation, leading up to Cuban independence, it was understood that the economic relations between Cuba and the United States were as important as their political relations. When the United States required of Cuba that her constitution should contain guarantees which should forever place her in a position of intimate relation to us, it was universally understood that we, on our part, would aid her by providing such reciprocal commercial advantages as would enable her to be self-reliant and self-supporting. The Monroe Doctrine, which we had declared three-quarters of a century ago and insisted upon as our right, was wrought into a compact between the two countries, so that thenceforth, as to Cuba, it was no longer to rest upon assertion alone but upon constitutional agreement. While we did not ask of Cuba in form that she should not enter into commercial arrangements with other countries to our disadvantage, the natural currents of trade made it a practical impossibility for her to do so, and a Commission sent to us from her Constitutional Convention returned home with the just expectation that a compliance with our desires as to her constitutional guarantees would

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be followed by the establishment of mutual trade relations which would prove to be of great economic advantage to her. The Constitutional Convention of Cuba asked, as a return for their acceptance of the provisions which we had requested, that there should be some promise given by the United States of the establishment of advantageous relations with us. In the nature of things such a promise was impossible, but the Convention was asked to act in the premises and to trust the United States. It did incorporate into its constitution provisions which we thought essential for us, and it did trust us to provide by legislation, or treaty, commercial advantages which she could not obtain from other countries. So, up to the opening of our last Congress, all was well. The Cuban constitution was adopted. Complete independence awaited only the necessary successive steps for its establishment. Its merchants, its planters and laborers, waited in trustful confidence that the United States, through its Congress, would provide for the industrial as it had already provided for the political independence of Cuba. Not only was this anticipated in Cuba, but here as well. No one could have foreseen that the United States would deliberately refuse to discharge its obligation. The United States had never been a faith breaker; its worst enemy could not have predicted that it would become one. And then a strange thing happened.

The principal crop of Cuba is cane sugar, or, rather, it may be said that the two principal crops are sugar and tobacco. Until its industries shall have become more diversified, the prosperity of the Island depends upon these crops, and upon its ability to produce them with profit. By reason of the over-production of sugar in the world, of the indebtedness accumulated by planters in Cuba and their losses sustained during the war, it may be asserted without fear of contradiction that, on the whole, sugar production had become unprofitable in the Island. The same was true, though in a lesser degree, of tobacco. The United States could well afford, in return for trade advantages to be secured by us, to make such reductions in the tariff upon sugar, tobacco, and other products of Cuba as would place its industries on a profitable basis, and it was well understood both in Cuba and the United States that such action would be taken. President Roosevelt in his message had recommended such "substantial tariff reductions" as were necessary to insure industrial prosperity.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Then arose a cloud in the sky. We had begun in several States to produce sugar from beets, and for many years we had been producing in one or two States sugar from cane. All at once, and without reason, the cry was raised that any reduction of the duty on sugar coming from Cuba would injure, strike down, and destroy the beet and cane sugar industry of the United States. Members and Senators from States in which these industries were established became first timid, then needlessly frightened, lest their assent to legislation favoring reciprocal trade relations with Cuba would lose them their seats. Most of these Senators and Representatives were Republicans. They were few in number compared to the whole body of Republicans, but they were numerous enough, by joining with the Democrats who were ready for any action which should divide Republican forces, to prevent wise and necessary legislation; and so the contest began.

As time went on facts were ignored, fears were magnified, prejudice invoked, until reason and cool judgment seemed to have entirely departed. Two assertions, neither of which could be sustained by proof, formed the controlling basis of action by the few Republicans who have been spoken of. First, the assertion that, to reduce the tariff on Cuban sugar by twenty-five or even twenty per cent., would take away the protection enjoyed by beet and cane sugar producers in the United States—an assertion which is absolutely groundless, as is shown by the fact that we take into our country, free of duty, 500,000 tons of sugar from Hawaii and Porto Rico, while maintaining the duty against all other countries, without in any way interfering with the protection of our own sugar producers. Second, the assertion that the so-called Sugar Trust would derive all the benefit resulting from any reduction of the duty on Cuban sugar—an assertion which is equally groundless, as is shown by the fact that Hawaiian sugar and Porto Rican sugar, though duty free, have brought the same price in American markets as sugars from Cuba or Germany. The prejudice against the Sugar Trust was continually, and most successfully, appealed to. It was so apparent that any reduction of the duty upon Cuban sugar proposed would not reduce the price of home-produced sugar, that it is not probable that this argument alone could have resulted in defeating the suggested legislation, and so the plea that the Trust, rather than the Cuban planter, was to be benefited was the objection most relied upon.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is a curious fact that, while there is a popular belief that combinations and trusts control legislation in Congress, it is nevertheless true that the most effective means of preventing legislation is to assert that a combination or trust desires it. Even staid legislators lose their heads when the statement is made that a trust is favoring a measure. The Sugar Trust is, perhaps, the most unpopular of all capitalistic combinations in the United States, and the apprehension excited by continual reiteration that the legislation in question was being supported and would inure to the benefit of the Sugar Trust, was most potent. In the opinion of the writer it was utterly fallacious. That it was successful in defeating for the time being the performance of our plain duty with regard to Cuba, must be admitted. Nowhere in the United States is public sentiment so liable to be misunderstood as in the city of Washington while Congress is in session, and the fear that the beet-sugar industry might possibly be injured, and that the Sugar Trust might possibly reap some benefit as a result of the proposed legislation, was so skilfully manipulated, so cunningly fostered, and so persistently and vigorously reiterated, that the main question was practically obscured. Many members took counsel of their fears rather than of their judgment; fear developed into frenzy; suspicion usurped the province of fact; prejudice was more potent than reason; the well-considered policy of two administrations and an overwhelming sentiment of moral obligation were ignored. Pledges were sought and obtained, until it became apparent that no legislation looking to the relief of Cuba and the extension of our own trade was possible, except such as might be dictated by the Opposition for party advantage without reference to the interests of Cuba or ourselves. The President, in a special message, endeavored to call back the attention of the Congress to the real issue, but without effect, and so Congress adjourned with nothing done.

Meantime, notwithstanding the assertions of the beet-sugar representatives that Cuba was in no need, there is serious financial depression there. How acute it will become, time only can demonstrate. But, worse than financial depression or distress, there has grown up in the minds of the people of Cuba a feeling that the United States has deliberately determined not to keep faith with them. Economic disturbance in a country just starting on the experiment of self-government, with little experience

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in that line, is bad enough; but a settled belief on the part of its people that a nation upon which they have placed their reliance has tricked them, is more sadly to be deplored. The people of Cuba will scarcely understand that the few representatives who have been able temporarily to thwart the will of the people of the United States, do not represent its real sentiment. The respect of Cuba can only be regained when the people of the United States shall have once more passed upon this question, and demonstrated that our real purpose is thwarted only for the time being, and that our "plain duty" is yet to be thoroughly and generously performed. Friends of Cuba in the United States have appealed from the mistaken sentiment of a few of its legislators to the American people. That the appeal will not be in vain there are many hopeful signs. There is such a thing as public conscience in this country, and when once aroused it is all-powerful. The Republican conventions of those States from which objections to this legislation were most strongly urged, have shown, by resolutions adopted by them, that even in those States the heart of the people is right. Wherever our true-hearted and courageous President speaks for justice to Cuba and the performance of national obligation, the people respond as to no other sentiment which he utters. It will only need a re-assembling of Congress to demonstrate that our policy with regard to Cuba is not to be finally obstructed by groundless fear or senseless prejudice; that our plighted faith is to be observed; that the United States is still to be the generous friend, the strong protector and unselfish guardian of the Cuban people; that the republic of Cuba is to be permanently maintained; that the pledge of the United States is not to be violated, either in letter or in spirit; that no movement for the annexation of Cuba is to be started or supported here; but that, as time goes on, Cuba, free and independent, guided and aided by us in the realization of her dream of liberty, will continue and remain an object lesson to all nations of the high purpose and noble action of the United States.

O. H. PLATT.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

LORD SALISBURY.

BY SYDNEY BROOKS.

LORD SALISBURY was the first British Minister of the nineteenth century to combine the office of Premier with that of Foreign Secretary. The Prime Minister, it may be as well to remind American readers, has no legal position in England. He is the man commanded by the Sovereign to carry on the government, but the command brings with it neither title nor office. He is therefore obliged to legalize his status and qualify for the service of the Crown by accepting some office known to the Constitution. As a rule, Prime Ministers have contented themselves with one of those numerous posts, like that of First Lord of the Treasury or Lord Privy Seal, of which the honor is great and the duties merely nominal. It was thought something extraordinary, and another proof of his demoniacal love of work, when Mr. Gladstone added the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to the exacting duties of the Premiership. But Lord Salisbury went even further. He undertook the control of what is beyond all comparison the most burdensome and responsible post in the gift of the Sovereign. The mere routine business of the Foreign Office—the interviews with ambassadors, the reading of the dispatches that flow in at the rate of a thousand a week, the forwarding of instructions to British representatives abroad—is enough, on Lord Rosebery's testimony, to keep a busy man fully employed fifteen hours out of the twenty-four. Add to this that much of the work—all the important work, in fact—must be done by the Foreign Secretary himself and cannot be delegated either to his Under-Secretary or the permanent officials; that, more than the chief of any other department, he has a personal grip on the direction of affairs, acts largely on his own responsibility and relies on his own clearness of head, good temper and knowl-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

edge of the subject; add, further, a consciousness of the immensity of the interests he represents and of the world-wide dangers a single hasty word or the slightest false move may involve, as well as, somewhere at the back of his mind, a haunting wonder of what the people will think of it all; and it would be hard to conceive a more nerve-straining post than that of British Foreign Secretary.

Nor are the duties of a Prime Minister, when properly grasped and carried out, much less absorbing. The functions of a Prime Minister under the British system are not only to dispense a certain amount of ecclesiastical patronage and act as a sort of intermediary between the Sovereign and the people and originate and expound the government's policy, but also to play the rôle of an active managing director in the Cabinet councils. This last, indeed, is his most important duty. The ideal Premier, in the current argot of English politics, should be "the foreman of his gang." His business is to keep all the threads of administration in his own hands; to supervise, without intruding on, the work of his colleagues in the Cabinet; to let nothing of any great significance happen in any department without his being informed of it, and generally "to pass up and down the line, as it were," giving to each worker the stimulus or corrective that only detached outside criticism can supply. That such an ideal is not impracticable was shown by that model administrator, Sir Robert Peel. Sir Robert made it a rule to give audience to each important member of his Cabinet every day. In this way he not only kept all his men up to their work, but knew exactly what each was doing. He shared in their responsibility, as a Prime Minister should, and they benefited by his general counsel and superintendence. Sir Robert's common-sense in such matters almost reached genius. He knew to a nicety where the line should be drawn, and, while he never degenerated into the fussy busybody, frittering away his talents on small details, he always contrived to be himself the final arbiter on all cardinal points of policy. The consequence was that the machinery of government ran with a smoothness and success that no other régime has even approached.

I cannot help sympathizing with the remark of a very observant French critic, M. Augustin Filon, that to write of Lord Salisbury one needs simply the commonest intelligence and one particular sort of courage—the courage to go on saying all the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

commonplace things that have been said a thousand times already. Lord Salisbury has been on the stage of public affairs for now nearly fifty years, and always in the foreground. He has been canvassed from all possible standpoints and analyzed down to the last corpuscle. One cannot hope at this time of day to add anything to the volume of criticism that has gathered round his commanding figure, or discover a phase of his personality or an action of his career not already explored and dissected. But one may, as a sort of comment on the commentators, permissibly wonder that so many able pens should have so largely failed to rouse popular interest in him, and altogether failed to impress any firm image of his character on the public mind. For this is undeniably the case. Americans who insist on having the limelight on their statesmen from the breakfast table to the council room, can hardly conceive how few Englishmen know anything or even care to know anything about Lord Salisbury. The feeling of the bulk of the nation, I should judge, was that of almost supreme confidence in him as a statesman, tinctured with a quite frank indifference as to what manner of man he might be in private life. His habits of reserve and seclusion seemed to have killed popular interest in his personality. I am not in the least regretting this; a statesman who in these days can direct an empire and yet make no parade of himself or his private life or give a single opening to the inquisitiveness of the "incorrigible mob," is a phenomenon rare enough to be doubly attractive, and not less rare in England than in other countries. There are English statesmen to-day whom the common people feel they know through and through, whose intimate doings they follow with the closest curiosity and in whose presence they are comfortably at ease. Sir William Harcourt is such an one; Mr. Chamberlain is another; even Lord Rosebery, a far more many-sided and elusive character, the public has some inkling of; but the Marquis of Salisbury dwelt seemingly in a world of his own, remote from theirs and beyond their speculation. He never was and never could be a popular idol, as Lord Palmerston was. He had none of those little arts and graces that endear a man to the multitude. He did absolutely nothing that Englishmen like their leaders to do. He was not a golfer, like his nephew, nor a sportsman like Lord Rosebery, nor an orchid grower like Mr. Chamberlain. His pet hobby of which rumor has gone abroad—electrical engineering—is not of the sort

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to kindle much general enthusiasm. Lord Salisbury filling Hatfield House with electric light was always a poor electioneering card to play against the appealing figure of Mr. Gladstone cutting down trees in the grounds of Hawarden Castle. And this, no doubt, was just as Lord Salisbury or any other man of sense would have it. From the lonely, self-sufficing life he led, apart from his colleagues, apart from society, the veil was never lifted. Platform oratory was his abomination. His position forced him now and then to yield to the demand for speeches, and he went through with his part vigorously and always ably, but his heart most plainly was not in his work. As a rule when he had anything to say that could no longer be kept to himself, he was content to address the nation from his seat in the House of Lords.

All this was a severe damper on popular enthusiasm. Lord Salisbury stood forth a towering, unadorned pillar of sound Tory principles, conspicuous to the nations; to be admired or not, as you please; but in either case to be judged simply for what it was, and not for its adventitious trappings. The average man in any country cares a good deal more for politicians than for politics; and this chilling simplicity of carriage does not attract him. No one ever thought of hanging round the Foreign Office on the off chance of being able to cheer Lord Salisbury as he got into his brougham. On the other hand, no one ever hated him enough to mob him in the streets, as some twenty-five years ago Mr. Gladstone was mobbed by a crowd of boisterous jingoes. Mr. Gladstone was perpetually the mark of passionate admiration or passionate dislike. You could not be neutral on the subject of Gladstone. But passion of any kind never entered into any one's estimate of Lord Salisbury. It was so obvious that he did not care what was thought of him that no one took the trouble to get angry. The stiffest Radical would applaud his foreign policy—was it not Mr. Labouchere who claimed that Lord Salisbury and himself were the only genuine Little Englanders in Parliament?—and think him nothing worse than an indispensable joke in domestic affairs. When they called him "a feudal baron," or "a capital fossil" or "an Elizabethan relic," their ferocity was exhausted. And this reticence was not due to any corresponding bashfulness on Lord Salisbury's part. It was not one of his characteristics to soften down the rigidity of his political principles or modify his caustic criticisms of what he disliked in order

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to conciliate an opponent. He took, too, a most human pleasure in invective, "not being," to quote Disraeli's comment of twenty-five years ago, "a man who measures his phrases." The almost ferocious cleverness of some of his personal attacks on adversaries used to be one of England's most delightful annual scandals; and his tongue can still on occasion be as vitriolic as in the days when he compared Mr. Gladstone's policy to that of a pettifogging attorney, and apologized in the House next day most handsomely —to the attorneys. The real reason of the neutrality and colorlessness of the general attitude towards him was that he did not care one atom whether he was popular or unpopular. He made not the slightest effort to catch the applause of the many-headed; their approval did not inspirit him, for he knew it to be uninstructed; their disapproval did not disconcert him. What the people might be saying or thinking of him he had schooled himself to regard as a matter of complete, sarcastic indifference. He had possibly some of the disdain of his Elizabethan ancestors for "persons who live in small houses." He certainly had all the contempt of a man of strong intellectual qualities for the ignorance of the multitude. Somebody once said of Mr. Gladstone, "Ah, Oxford on the surface, *but* Liverpool below." Lord Salisbury was Oxford above, below and all through. Indeed, as it showed itself to the world, the essence of his character is the twofold pride which Oxford most inculcates—the pride of birth and the pride of brain. And this, while it made him impatient of dulness and apt at times to treat stupidity as a sort of crime, while it goaded him now and then into a position or utterance not easily distinguishable from intellectual Pharisaism, had always the virtue of raising him above the clamor of the hour and accustoming him to prefer his own deliberate opinion to the uninformed and irresponsible advice of the multitude. And that is the hall-mark of strong statesmanship.

This strength to pick out a line of his own and hold to it has always been Lord Salisbury's "note." The second son of a marquis, with no reasonable prospect of succeeding to the family title and estates, he had need of some such quality to disentangle himself from a position which has led many a weaker man into a life of idle discontent. He was educated at those two famous seminaries of English statesmanship, Eton and Christ Church, Oxford. He left the 'varsity without presenting himself for a degree, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

made a tour of the colonies at a time when to have been in Canada and New Zealand and Australia was to have "travelled." He married early, and notoriously against his father's wishes. The young couple, left for a while without means, set themselves to live by work like any other professionals. It is not mere fancifulness to attribute at least part of his sense of the needs and sufferings of democracy to the days when he was one of the ablest and most vivacious of the regular contributors to the *Saturday Review* and *Quarterly*. In 1853, being then in his twenty-third year, he entered the House of Commons as M. P. for Stamford, a Lincolnshire borough, practically in the gift of his family. The Conservative party, still rent by the shock of the Free Trade movement, gave a capital opening to a capable and earnest politician, and Lord Robert Cecil quickly won his spurs. I do not propose to go over the details of his political career. They are to be found set forth with a quite extraordinary detachment of mind in Mr. H. D. Traill's volume in the "Queen's Prime Ministers" series. But one or two of the more conspicuous incidents should be touched on. It is, for instance, worth noting that in one of his earliest speeches he criticised the closing of the Black Sea to the Russian flag of war—that impossible prohibition which survived his strictures hardly twenty years. It is also worth noting that he supported the claims of the two Danubian principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia to effect the union denied to them by the treaty of 1856—thus anticipating by two decades the arguments in which he defended the emancipation of Bulgaria and Eastern Roumelia from Ottoman rule. There are some, too, who think that in introducing, as he did in 1857, a bill to amend the procedure of elections by substituting a voting-paper system—bringing the poll to the elector instead of the elector to the poll—Lord Salisbury showed equal prescience in forecasting the future. He came early to his beliefs, and can hardly be said to have parted with any of them; and this curious consistency of thought and policy, which in a smaller man might be mere petulant stubbornness, is in Lord Salisbury but another sign of that reasoned devotion to the few essential principles of statesmanship that is the touchstone of his whole career. We find him while still in the twenties opposing the total abolition of church rates as he would oppose it now. We find him thirty odd years ago confessing in the House of Commons that the sentiment in favor of an Established

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Church "still exercises a hold over me which I regard as sacred." If Lord Salisbury were to say the same thing to-morrow, not a critic could point to a single action or utterance in the interval of these three decades that would vitiate his right to repeat in 1902 the expression of 1868. We find him in 1869, when the deaths of his elder brother and father had transferred him to the House of Lords as Marquis of Salisbury, bringing in a bill to enact that any measure which had passed one House might, subject to the assent of the Crown and the two Houses, be considered by the other House in the ensuing session. By the present arrangement bills are obliged to pass both Houses in the same session, and much valuable legislation is thereby lost. When the methods of transacting public business are revolutionized along practical lines, as they assuredly will be, Lord Salisbury's plan will not be forgotten. We find him, once more, supporting Lord Russell's bill to create life peers with the object of strengthening the upper House by an infusion of a more purely business element, and twenty years later proposing a bill to the same effect himself. We find him setting his face like a flint against the absurd Public Worship Bill of '73, just as he refused later to interfere with the Bishops' handling of the Ritualistic agitation.

It was this steadiness of conviction, animating his instinctive and unfaltering Toryism, that gave Lord Salisbury his hold over the country and the party he led. In all his speeches you find what you do not find in Mr. Gladstone's speeches, the presence of a fundamental motive, a settled and rational consistency. The student who searches Mr. Gladstone's orations for the principles and intellectual mainspring of Liberal policy will assuredly be disappointed; for Mr. Gladstone's mind worked in flashes along the surface of things; he was destitute of the restraining guidance of a coherent political creed; his enthusiasm was all for projects, not for principles But from Lord Salisbury's speeches one could easily compile a luminous and authoritative Conservative text-book. He hardly touched a detail without showing its relation to the whole, without lighting it up with those far-reaching speculations, those sudden openings of long vistas of thought that mark the master-mind in politics; and it is just this cohesion of thought and policy that made him the greatest Conservative since Burke. Toryism is not with him a passive belief, a mere decoration to the marquisate. He has an intellectual passion for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it; he has rigorously convinced himself of its efficacy. Early in his career he broke away from his party and sacrificed the Indian Secretaryship—his first office and opening chance of brilliant distinction, which he was as brilliantly seizing—sooner than deny one particle of his faith. He fought down to the last ditch, almost single-handed, and against the very men who should have sided with him, the final battle of the old order of Conservatism. That was on the memorable occasion when Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, after turning out their opponents for proposing a mild measure or reform, "dished the Whigs" by bringing in another that went infinitely further. Lord Salisbury probably did not then imagine that he himself would live to be the bulwark of the new order, and that under his guidance Conservatism was to regain all and more than all it had lost, take on a fresh spirit of activity and usefulness and in its revivified form become the dominant creed of the country. Lord Salisbury was continually described by his detractors as an "Elizabethan." If by that it is meant that he had an intellectual inclination towards a semi-autocratic system, based on a limited suffrage and gathering to it such counsellors as his ancestor, Lord Burleigh, they are probably right. One may easily understand that his clear-sightedness rebelled against the modern ministerial necessity of having to explain things to a lot of people who are quite unable to profit by the explanation and would far rather be watching a football match. In that sense "the modern spirit" was not in him.

But no one accepted more fully and with less reserve the inconveniences of popular government. His attitude towards democracy seemed to be that of a determination to make the best of regrettable facts. He acknowledged its advent to power as a man of science and good sense, but without foregoing his belief in the right of the few to rule the many, and without appearing to derive the smallest inspiration or comfort from its backing. At the same time, he would probably have agreed that "the rule of the people" is a bubble that bursts in the hands of the man bold enough to grasp it. It is indeed very easy to underrate the humility of King Demos. He knows well enough his final incapacity for the work of government, and will admit it once it is firmly charged upon him. He was wild for political rights so long as they were withheld, but now that he has them his disposition is still as malleable as ever, and the need of ninety-nine men

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

out of a hundred to be strongly governed just as great. The tremendous revival of the monarchical idea during the last thirty years all over the world—of which "bossism" is the American reflection—is at once a proof of King Demos's weariness with his new plaything and a hint of the reward that awaits the statesman who has the sense to stand up to him, snatch the ferrule out of his hand and place him on the pupil's form. The one defect in Lord Salisbury's adjustment between the theoretical omnipotence of democracy and the actual rulership of such men as himself is that it was too negative. His general attitude towards the vaporings of the populace, whether they chanced to be favorable or adverse to the business he had in hand, was one of disregard. But, whether from sheer intellectual scorn for "the plain, dull man," or from a horror of display or from a sort of lingering suspiciousness, he did not come boldly forward, as he might have done, to *coerce* the confidence of the people. From whatever cause there was noticeable a lack of driving-power in his leadership; and it is this, really, that gave color to the accusation of his being "unsympathetic." He preferred trudging along his path, unmindful of criticism and trusting to time to prove him right, rather than taking the trouble of stopping to explain at once whither he was going and why he chose that particular route. Walter Bagehot, in one of his essays, foreshadowed the inner feelings of a man of the Salisbury temperament on getting up to speak in public. "What is the use," he says to himself, "of talking to these people? They are very well as they are; they believe what they have been brought up to believe, and I shall only bore myself and them if I talk platitudes and only disturb and unsettle them if I talk anything else. Look at that bald-headed man in spectacles. How can one argue with bald-headed men in spectacles? What does he know about foreign politics or anything else? Much better leave him alone and not confuse his mind with a lot of outlandish names." There was always a suspicion that some such critical scepticism was moving at the back of Lord Salisbury's mind; and the suspicion had its share in creating a gulf between him and the people and robbing his leadership of some of its due influence. On the other hand he was untiring in educating his party up to the opportunities of their new position, and especially in claiming for the House of Lords its proper weight as an integral part of the constitution and a thoroughly repre-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sentative chamber. Under his auspices Conservatism has ceased to be a policy of mere resistance. It has developed a surprising constructive ability, broadened out into the field of "social legislation," and so effectually knit class with class that the temptation to tamper with the constitution has vanished, and the House of Lords and the Established Church have been saved from attack for another generation at least.

It is only within the last twenty years that Lord Salisbury has built up that largeness of authority from which alone such results could flow. It took people a long while to get over his disquieting reputation for maladroit sarcasm, and the half-mocking, half-impetuous asperity that broke through his harsh reserve. "A great master of gibes and flouts and jeers," said Disraeli of his colleague, adding thereto that his invective lacked "finish." The finish that it lacked was not that of artistic or literary completeness; nothing could well exceed the mordant polish of some of Lord Salisbury's ventures in the gentle art; the defect came rather from a failure to gauge the temper of his audience. The "pettifogging attorney" incident is the stock example of his inability to refrain from pushing a point too far; and at the time when it happened it was no uncommon thing for Lord Robert Cecil to be invited "to reconsider the vocabulary in which he has addressed the House." Only four years ago Lord Salisbury publicly jeered at Spain as "a dying nation," and seemed on one occasion to liken the Irish to Hottentots and on another laughed unmercifully at the electors of Central Finsbury for sending a Parsee, whom he described as "a black man," to represent them in Parliament. A certain very general mistrust of him, as a man of great parts who would not be disciplined, grew out of these indiscretions and did not wholly die away until about the middle of his first Premiership. It was, for instance, the popular belief that Disraeli took him to the Berlin Congress because he did not dare to leave him at home. When he represented England as plenipotentiary at the Constantinople conference of 1876, the *raison d'être* of which was the prevention of war between Turkey and Russia, the opinion of the man in the street was that the government had made a very hazardous choice. Some said that he would fail, others that he would be the mere dupe of Russia, others that he would exceed his instructions, and that there would be no holding him in. It is true he did fail, not from any fault of tem-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

per, but simply because success was impossible. Nevertheless, the sense of insecurity provoked by his too reckless excursions in debate, the cordon of mistrust which hedged him round, was not really broken into till Lord Derby's curious failing of nerve when the cabinet seemed on the brink of war with Russia translated Lord Salisbury to the Foreign Office. Within twenty-four hours the new Secretary had launched the vigorous and most capable circular that ultimately forced Russia to submit the Treaty of San Stefano to European verdict. That was an achievement of incalculable value, and the country gladly recognized the nerve and comprehensive judgment that brought it about. Nevertheless, a single incident was enough to revive the old doubts. On the eve of the Berlin Congress a London paper printed what purported to be the *précis* of a secret agreement reached between the British and Russian governments. Questioned as to its accuracy, Lord Salisbury described it as "wholly unauthentic and not deserving of the confidence of your lordships' House." It turned out that the journal was correct in every particular, and the moral sense of England was gravely, though I think very foolishly, shocked to find that a great English nobleman could condescend to such diplomatic arts. Lord Salisbury, it was said, had developed an Italian cast of mind, had fallen under the spell of Disraelian trickery and ambiguity, and forfeited his high reputation for holding fast to principle at any cost. The question lies, of course, quite outside the realm of private ethics, and may be argued indefinitely. The Radicals made a great deal of it, far too much of it in my opinion, and in the long run the common sense of the people revolted against their efforts to enrich the vocabulary of politics with the phrase "to tell a Salisbury." But I think the incident had its share in prolonging the vacancy left by Lord Beaconsfield's death. The mantle fell eventually on the shoulders best fitted to wear it, but only after an interval of not very complimentary hesitation.

I have left myself little space to deal with Lord Salisbury as Foreign Secretary. The keynote of his conduct of that office was a large and luminous patience. As the last surviving actor in the heroic drama of the Berlin Congress, he had a prestige of authority and experience in the chancelleries of Europe such perhaps as no statesman in the world can now call his own. To that reflex and half-inherited advantage he added the reputation of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

being a man who never loses his head, who had schooled himself not to expect too much, who was always open to bargain in a spirit of good feeling and common-sense, and instinctively preferred the middle part of moderation and compromise. From Little Englandism he was as far removed as from the monopolizing spirit of advanced Jingoism. No one had a keener sense of England's position and responsibilities, yet no one warned his countrymen more often or more impressively against the dangers of undigested empire. It is this perfect sanity and detachment of outlook that made England repair to him as to an oracle, whose calm, sagacious utterances had the impersonal quality that only the highest statesmanship can command. The utterances, it is true, were occasionally disappointing. After the black week of December, 1899, when the British met with three severe defeats in less than six days, and the people were looking for some word of comfort from their leaders or at least some acknowledgment of past mistakes and promise of future reform, it was, to say the least, disconcerting to find Lord Salisbury languidly complaining that the British constitution was not a good fighting machine. That time he missed the mark, but there have been moments when his knack of taking fanciful views of the gravest situation brought an explosion of reassuring laughter; as when, for instance, he argued that the popular fear of a Russian invasion of India was simply due to the use of small maps. Lord Salisbury's talent for sweeping aside irrelevant details and holding fast to the few central facts was never perhaps seen more clearly than in his Chinese policy. The future will do justice to that, just as we of the present day do justice to his handling of British interests in Africa—Zanzibar, Uganda, Mashonaland, the reconquest of the Soudan, the safeguarding of the Nile and Niger and the quietus placed on foreign interference in South Africa are monuments enough for one man—to his masterly rescue of Crete, and his attitude during the Spanish-American war. So quietly and with so complete an absence of self-advertisement were these triumphs accomplished that people hardly realize Lord Salisbury's share in them. They came, indeed, to look upon him rather as a force than a personality, as a something in the background, very cool and unhurried and grim and wise, that managed somehow to direct the foreign affairs of the country with dignity and credit.

SYDNEY BROOKS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BRITISH PREFERENTIAL TRADE AND IMPERIAL DEFENCE.

BY JOHN CHARLTON, M. P., MEMBER OF THE ANGLO-AMERICAN JOINT HIGH COMMISSION.

For several years the question of Preferential Trade within the bounds of the British Empire has received attention from public men in Great Britain and in the Colonies. For a few months past, it has been prominent, and discussions in the press and in the Imperial and Colonial Parliaments have led up to a practical consideration of it, and of the question of Imperial Defence, at a Conference of the Colonial Premiers and Imperial Authorities, which was called to meet in London in connection with the Coronation ceremonies. This Conference is, as I write, in session, and the outcome of its deliberations will be known officially, when the Parliaments of the self-governing Colonies again convene.

That widely divergent views prevail as to the features of the Preferential Trade policy is certain. Each one of the Colonies will have its own particular views to urge, while the Imperial authorities will, in all probability, stand strongly for the extension of the free trade principle to all parts of the Empire. The character of negotiations as to the position of the Dominion of Canada in trade arrangements with the home government, is of more interest to Americans than that of the other Colonies. Canada desires preferential entry into the markets of Great Britain for her wheat, flour, oatmeal, animal products, lumber, mine products, and fish; and she desires this preferential treatment without surrendering the essential features of her own tariff policy, which is a moderately protective one. She would readily grant to Great Britain preferential treatment to a greater extent than at present, but she would probably decline to permit this

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

preference to reach a point that would threaten her own industries established under the moderate protection inaugurated in 1878. It may be assumed with confidence that neither Canada nor Australia can accept absolute free trade with Great Britain. The dream of certain classes in these Colonies is that preference, to an extent that would give them material advantage in the British markets over foreign countries, can be obtained, while they will be allowed to retain the distinctive features of their own policy at present in force.

Imperialistic sentiment unquestionably prompts to a movement for a zollverein within the Empire, based substantially upon the present conditions of the British tariff. It is measurably certain that any broad scheme of preferential trade which falls short of this will not be accepted by British statesmen, and it is doubtful whether even the proposition for a zollverein within the Empire, accompanied by duties which would discriminate sharply against foreign countries, and would naturally invite tariff retaliation from such countries, would be accepted by the Government of Great Britain.

A scrutiny of the British Trade returns for 1901 will show why this policy will probably be rejected. The import and export trade of Great Britain for the fiscal year 1901, stated in dollars (one pound sterling being counted as equal to five dollars), was as follows:

BRITISH EXPORTS, 1901.

Total British Exports	$1,739,321,000
British Exports to Canada, as per Canadian returns	43,018,000
British Exports to all British Colonial Possessions and Protectorates	565,591,000
British Exports to Foreign Countries	1,173,729,000
Percentage of Exports to Canada	2½ per cent.
Percentage of Exports to Colonial Possessions	32½ per cent.
Percentage of Exports to Foreign Countries	67½ per cent.

BRITISH IMPORTS, 1901.

Total Imports	$2,609,950,000
Imports from Canada, as per Canadian returns	105,328,000
Imports from all British Colonial Possessions and Protectorates	527,868,000
Imports from Foreign Countries	2,082,082,000
Percentage of Imports from Canada	4 per cent.
Percentage of Imports from all Colonial Possessions	20¼ per cent.
Percentage of Imports from Foreign Countries	79¾ per cent.

The portion of this trade which Great Britain would most naturally desire to retain, and would be most reluctant to imperil,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is the export trade. The percentage of total exports to Canada in 1901 was 2½ per cent., and to all British Possessions and Protectorates 32½ per cent. Absolute free trade with Canada would not be likely to more than double her proportion of exports, or in other words would not increase it beyond 5 per cent. of the total present amount, and free trade with all the Colonial Possessions would not be likely to increase their trade to more than 50 per cent. of the total amount. England will hesitate long before she will endanger what at the present time is 67½ per cent. of her total export trade, by entering into any preferential arrangement or zollverein with her Colonial Possessions, and it may be reasonably asserted that no such step will be taken. With regard to English imports, Canada at least would not consider a preference of less than 10 per cent. as an inducement of very great importance. A preference of this amount as against the United States, Russia, and other food-export countries, would give to Canada and to the wool-growing and to the mutton and beef raising interests of Australia very important advantages. But this advantage conferred upon the Colonies would cost Great Britain, according to Sir Robert Giffen, a recognized financial and trade authority, an increase of $205,000,000 a year in taxation and enhanced cost of supplies, and an addition of $55,000,000 to the cost of Colonial goods to the British consumer, while the Colonies would pay only $17,500,000 in increased taxation.

The moderate taxation upon food stuffs recently imposed as a war measure by the British Government, which amounts to less than four per cent. *ad valorem,* is unpopular in England, and a significant indication of public feeling has been given in the only bye-election held since the imposition of this tax, when a constituency which gave a Conservative majority of 849 in the last general election returned a Liberal in the bye-election in May, by a majority of 414. No taxation can be so unpopular in Great Britain as a tax upon food. The Corn Laws were a subject of great agitation in the early part of the century, and were swept away before a storm of public indignation in 1846. The white heat of that contest would again be aroused by the imposition of a bread tax. Great Britain is pre-eminently a manufacturing and commercial nation. Her agricultural interests are of minor importance. In the sharp competition between her own manufacturers and those of Germany and the United States, which is

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

growing more acute every year, the command of raw products at the lowest possible cost is a necessity, for without this England cannot successfully maintain her struggle for the leading position in the open markets of the world. Food is a raw product. Increase in its price means increase in cost of manufacture, and the manufacturing and commercial interests of England cannot and will not consent to an increase caused by import duties.

The political parties in Canada differ in the attitude they respectively take with regard to Imperial Preferential Trade. The Conservative Party has dwelt upon the importance of securing Preferential Trade in the British markets, and has asserted the practicability of obtaining this concession, and at the same time it has belittled the importance of reciprocal trade arrangements with the United States. The Liberal Party, which came into power in 1896, has always desired broader trade relations with the United States, and has entertained doubts as to the practicability of securing any such preferential treatment in the British market as the Conservatives thought procurable. The Liberal Party, when it came into power, was pledged to a reduction of the tariff. It was speedily found that promises made in opposition might be difficult of fulfilment when in power, and the only material step taken in the direction of the fulfilment of these promises was to grant a preference to goods of British manufacture. This preference was at first 12½ per cent., then it was increased to 25 per cent., and for the last two years it has been 33 1-3 per cent. The increase to 33 1-3 per cent. has proved to be disadvantageous to the woollen interests and some other manufacturing interests of Canada, and these manufacturing interests object not only to the increase of preferential duties from 12½ per cent., but to the application of the principle of preference at all, except in return for corresponding advantages granted by the British Government to Canada, which is an eminently reasonable position. Canada, at the present moment, occupies exactly the same position with regard to the entry of her products into the British markets as is occupied by the United States and all other countries. She has no preference in the British market whatever, while she gives British manufactures the preference above mentioned. When moderate duties were recently imposed upon grain by the British Parliament—amounting to threepence per cwt. upon wheat, and fivepence per cwt. upon flour—it was sup-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

posed that Canada, in return for the preference of 33 1-3 per cent., would be relieved from the operation of this taxation upon her grain products. This supposition was ill founded, and no recognition of Canada's preference was deigned by the British Government. The result has been a slight soreness of feeling, which could easily be made more acute by injudicious action in the future on the part of the Imperial Government.

The marked manifestation of Imperialistic sentiment in Canada at the present moment is due to several causes. During the period when the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 was in force, extending from that date to 1866, the trend of public sentiment in Canada was towards sympathetic feeling and community of interests with the United States. Canadian trade was chiefly with the United States. Canadian exports of farm products to the United States were to some extent included in the exports from that country to Europe. The direct exports from Canada to Great Britain were very light, and the United States, while acting as Canada's factor, assumed that the passing of the products of our farms through her avenues of communication to her seaports for shipment, was a cause of interference with the markets of her own products for domestic consumption. Canada was anxious to renew the Reciprocity Treaty, and was ready to propose modified conditions which would admit a considerable list of manufactures free. All propositions were dismissed by the American Government with scant courtesy. Had the Reciprocity Treaty been permitted to remain in force its influence upon the destinies of both countries would have been in the highest degree advantageous to each. The United States would have attained much more complete ascendency for her manufactures in the Canadian market than she now enjoys, and the Canadian farm products and lumber which would have come into the markets of the United States for consumption would have borne so small a proportion to the products of that country as to have produced no effect, or a most insignificant one, upon prices. At the same time, the importation of wheat, flour, cheese, and all other articles of which both countries had a surplus for exportation, whose prices were governed by the prices received abroad, would have had no material influence upon the interests of either, except in so far as United States routes of transportation would have carried Canadian products and United States merchants would have handled

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

them, while Canada would have had the advantage of the competition of American buyers in her own markets for her farm products exported to Europe.

The Reciprocity Treaty was abrogated. The drift towards closer trade, and social and political relations, was arrested. The United States adopted a severely repressive policy towards Canada. Probably one of the reasons was the belief that that policy would force Canada into annexation. At first, the belief in Canada was that the American market was essential to us, and this belief would have continued, and have made it our chief market up to the present time, if the United States policy had not interposed and rendered it impossible. Thirty-five years have passed away. Canada has smarted during that time under the sense of unfair treatment. She has been compelled to seek other outlets for her products. She has found them. Her sales of farm products to England last year were eight times as much as to the United States. Her people have nearly lost sight of the fact that the American market would be advantageous to them. With this broadening of relations, and drawing closer of the ties that bind Canada to the Mother Country, has naturally come a marked development of Imperialistic feeling.

Here, then, are two reasons for the growth of Imperialistic sentiment—the shrivelling of our export trade to the United States, and the enormous expansion of our export trade to Great Britain. To these two reasons another one of much potency has been added. Nearly three years ago, England entered upon a struggle in South Africa for the maintenance of her Empire upon that continent. While Canada had small direct interest in the question, so far as her trade with South Africa was concerned, she felt instinctively that the British Empire was passing through a crisis, that the loss of British possessions in South Africa would mean loss of prestige and indefinite disaster. She felt the necessity of preserving the great market which absorbed four-fifths of her farm products; and, acting upon instinct rather than upon deliberate calculation, she reached forth a hand to aid the Mother Land. She sent her sons to the battle-field. She contributed large sums of money. In due time, her soldiers in the field displayed a degree of gallantry which received recognition from the Imperial authorities, and from the military critics of the world at large. Over this agreeable page in her history,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the country naturally went wild with delight, and the tide of Imperialism rose rapid and strong, a movement which was unfortunately accompanied by an increase in the spirit of militarism. Thus the Imperialistic spirit has been developed, and the United States has unconsciously offered all the assistance that lay in her power to produce this result.

But, notwithstanding the pronounced development of this feeling in Canada, and in Australia and New Zealand as well, a zollverein within the Empire based upon absolute free trade may reasonably be considered an impossibility now. Canada would cheerfully offer substantial preference to Great Britain, but cannot reach the limit of absolute free trade. Still, matters move in that direction. One of the great obstacles to this arrangement confronting Canada at present, would be the loss of revenue. With the rapid settlement of her great Northwest and the natural development of a feeling in favor of cheaper manufactures in that great region which will soon hold the balance of political power in Canada, the wishes of the manufacturing interests in the Provinces of Ontario and Quebec may in the future be overborne, and free trade within the Empire may be an attainable result within the near future. Meanwhile the United States still continues a fatuitous trade policy towards Canada.

Absolute free trade between all the States of the American Union, since the adoption of the Constitution, has been productive of results unmixed in the slightest degree with anything to the detriment of the country or any section of it. This policy extended to the Provinces of the Dominion would produce similar results. It cannot of course be extended to these Provinces in its entirety, and dwelling under one form of Government cannot be one of the features of this arrangement. Canada must of necessity retain a moderate revenue tariff to meet revenue wants; but the nearest possible approach to the condition existing between the various States of the American Union in the arrangement of the trade relations between the United States and Canada is desirable and necessary. Canada would find in the United States, under an arrangement opening the markets of each country reciprocally to natural products from the other, a market for a great variety of the products of her soil, forests, mines, and fisheries. The United States, on the other hand, would find an enormous market in Canada for farm products. At the present

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moment, Canada imposes duties upon nearly all American food products, except corn; and yet her purchases from the United States of the products of the soil are two and a half times greater than her exports of farm products to that country. With free trade, Oregon, Washington, and California would furnish the vast Canadian region west of the Rocky Mountains with wheat, flour, meats, and other food products. The 1,000,000 inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, would buy their food supplies almost exclusively in American seaboard cities. Ontario and Quebec would largely add to their imports of corn, meats, and other food products, for mining and lumbering operations, and, with the Canadian Northwest, would largely increase the exportation of wheat and other farm products to the United States. The balance of trade between the two countries, in the interchange of the products of the soil for consumption in either country, would be but slightly in favor of the United States; and the tendency to ship the products of Canada through the United States to foreign countries would be greatly increased, because the restrictions of bonding and other Custom-House hindrances would be removed.

Canadian trade with the United States is now on a most unsatisfactory basis, as far as concerns Canada, and the same is true with regard to nearly all foreign countries except Great Britain. The total imports of Canada from the United States in 1901 were $119,306,000, the total exports to the United States $72,382,000, the nominal balance against Canada being $46,924,000. In the statement of exports, however, is embodied $28,331,000 gold and silver coin, nuggets, gold dust, and precious metals; and from the imports from the United States are to be deducted $3,365,000 in coin and bullion, leaving an actual balance of trade against Canada and in favor of the United States, of $71,890,000, and placing the exports of natural products, aside from precious metals, at a figure less than that of 1866. The manufactures imported into Canada from the United States for the year 1901 were $65,559,000, of which $21,941,000 were upon the free list. The importation of manufactures from Great Britain for the same year was $37,270,000, of which $6,906,000 were upon the free list. The United States, it will thus be seen, has the lead on the Canadian market for the sale of manufactures. Canada imported from all the world in 1891, of manufactures, at

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

least $10,000,000 less than from the United States. Canada gave to the United States in 1901 a free list of $53,449,000, exclusive of coin and bullion, which was 74½ per cent. of her total free list. Embraced in this free list, in addition to $21,941,000 of manufactures, were corn, flax-seed, wool, hides, hemp, broom corn, tobacco leaf, and other farm products to the value of $14,775,000. In return, the United States gave Canada a free list covering nickel matte, sawlogs, and a few minor articles. We would prefer refining the nickel and converting the sawlogs into lumber ourselves. This condition of things, in conjunction with the fact that Canadian producers are practically excluded from the markets of the United States, and so from supplying food for the operatives who produce the goods they buy, is unsatisfactory.

Canadian trade returns with other countries besides the United States are similarly unfavorable, as these tables show:

CANADIAN TRADE WITH GERMANY, 1901.

Imports from	$7,020,000
Exports to	2,141,000
Balance of Trade against Canada	4,879,000
Import percentage of total trade	76 per cent.

CANADIAN TRADE WITH FRANCE, 1901.

Imports from	$5,398,000
Exports to	1,592,000
Balance against Canada	3,806,000
Import percentage of total trade	77 per cent.

CANADIAN TRADE WITH HOLLAND, 1901.

Imports from	$797,462
Exports to	187,378
Balance of Trade against Canada	610,084
Import percentage of total trade	81 per cent.

CANADIAN TRADE WITH SPAIN, 1901.

Imports from	$742,000
Exports to	185,000
Balance of trade against Canada	557,000
Import percentage of total trade	80 per cent.

Contrast these returns with those of Great Britain, for the same year, which are as follows:

CANADIAN TRADE WITH GREAT BRITAIN, 1901.

Imports from	$43,165,000
Exports to	105,018,000
Balance in favor of Canada	61,853,000
Import percentage on total trade	29 per cent.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Is it any wonder that Canada feels satisfied with her trade relations with Great Britain, and dissatisfied with her trade relations with the United States, Germany, and France? The condition of things at present existing as above set forth, the Canadian people will decide, must cease, and if the United States desires that Canada shall enter upon the path that present conditions will irresistibly compel her to traverse, if the present trade policy towards Canada is continued, then some fiscal change of a radical character will inevitably result. Reciprocity in natural products would set different currents of interest in motion, and would bring about the intimate business relations that nature designed between these two great countries. The policy would not have the effect of reducing the prices of farm products in the United States. All well-informed men possessed of accurate information must, in the interest of fraternity, harmony, and the future well-being of these two great peoples, desire to see the United States meet Canada in the adjustment of a new policy, broader, more liberal, and better calculated to promote the interests of the two peoples.

If the present policy of the United States is persisted in, Canada will have no choice but to adjust the difficulty by adopting another kind of Reciprocity Policy—reciprocity of tariffs. Neither self-interest nor self-respect will allow her to permit the present conditions to continue, without a vigorous effort to adjust matters in some way. Free admission of her natural products into the markets of the United States, with admission of natural products of the United States into Canada, would not affect injuriously any interests in the United States. Reciprocity of tariffs so far as her own interests would allow, while it would not affect the interests of the American farmers materially, would affect the interests of the American manufactures, and of the American lumbermen whose Canadian sales amount to nearly $4,000,000 a year; and when the motto "More sales, or less purchases" is acted upon, and a policy is adjusted designed to secure the production in Canada of 75 per cent. of the $65,000,000 of manufactures now imported from the United States, the American manufacturing interests will realize that a greater degree of liberality in the commercial policy of their country might have averted an unfortunate turn of affairs for themselves.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Last session, I introduced into the House of Commons at Ottawa the following motion:

> That this House is of the opinion that Canadian import duties should be arranged upon the principle of reciprocity in trade conditions so far as may be consistent with Canadian interests; that a rebate of not less than 40 per cent. of the amount of duties imposed should be made upon dutiable imports from nations or countries admitting Canadian natural products into their markets free of duty; and that the scale of Canadian duties should be sufficiently high to avoid inflicting injury upon Canadian interests in cases where a rebate of 40 per cent. or more shall be made under the conditions aforesaid.

This motion embodied the principle that, I believe, will in the near future govern the Canadian fiscal policy, in case the United States persists in the retention of duties double our own, has an eye exclusively to the things of its own and not at all to the things of others, and fails to realize that a nation must be permitted to sell if it is expected to continue to buy. This resolution proposes, as will be seen, to readjust the Canadian tariff, to arrange the scale of duties so that the net duty with the 40 per cent. deducted from the maximum rate will afford a reasonable degree of protection, in which case the maximum rate, of course, will afford a tolerably effective degree of protection. Under this arrangement, Great Britain would be entitled to the minimum rate, but the provision would be perfectly impartial in its application to either Germany, France, Spain, Holland, the United States, or any other country which availed itself of the statutory offer extended to all, to share in the minimum rate upon the reciprocally free interchange of natural products. This resolution, of course, means protection of a kind that will protect when applied to countries that do not accept this proposal, and it would either bring free admission of natural products into the markets of other countries, the United States included, or it would bring a rapid and healthy development of our own industrial interests. It is a question whether Canada cannot afford to be quite indifferent as to which would be the result.

With regard to the question of Imperial Defence—by which is meant the imposition of duties to a certain extent throughout the Empire to form a common Imperial Defence Fund—it may be said without hesitation that this proposition is unpopular in Canada. It would receive the unanimous condemnation of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

French-speaking portion of our population, and the condemnation probably of anywhere from three-fifths to two-thirds of the English-speaking population. Canada has great problems to solve, great difficulties to meet, enormous expenditures to make in the near future. She must furnish railway communication to the great Northwest. The present railway facilities are barely sufficient for the movement of the crops of that country, with its 300,000 inhabitants. 2,500,000 acres of wheat will be increased within the next ten years to from 25,000,000 to 50,000,000 acres in crop. The outlay necessary to cope with transportation difficulties will be enormous. Canada will endeavor to take care of herself. She maintains the garrison at the British naval depot of Halifax at the present moment. She can have no particular fear of any war that Great Britain can possibly be engaged in, except one with the United States, and in case of such a war she would need no Imperial Defence compact with Great Britain to induce her to put forth the greatest possible effort. She is not especially interested in the question of British expansion and British conquests in the Eastern Hemisphere, and under the Monroe Doctrine Great Britain is precluded from embarking in military operations for conquest on the Western Continent. With the vast interests of her own future to cope with, and with law, justice, and protection to grant to a boundless region, where a human tide will soon flow in, she has other uses for her taxes than to lay by and add to a fund for Imperial Defence. Were this policy to be entered upon, the tax would soon be felt to be a galling yoke, and the effect upon public sentiment would be to weaken rather than to strengthen Imperial ties. Canada will insist upon retaining in unimpaired integrity her present autonomy, and will reserve to herself the right of initiative and voluntary action in all cases where she is called upon to decide what shall be her attitude to the Imperial Government in case of war.

JOHN CHARLTON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HENRYK SIENKIEWICZ.

BY COMTE S. C. DE SOISSONS.

ABOUT twenty-five years ago, there began to appear in various Polish magazines and weeklies short stories, signed "Litwos," which were well received both by the critics and by the reading public. In 1876 Litwos visited America, and sent his impressions, full of interest and strange poetry, to a Warsaw daily paper. These were followed by several short stories; the interest in the writer increased; then Litwos cast aside his mask, and the name of Henryk Sienkiewicz became known.

At first, Sienkiewicz wrote only short stories, for such was the fashion then prevailing in France, a fashion set in particular by Guy de Maupassant.

The first story, "Hania," was pretty and sympathetic, but that was all. Its charm lies in the simplicity of its execution, in those happy strokes of the pen, one word from which reproduces distinctly the feelings of the people, their character, and their mutual relations, and gives a charming description of nature. But perhaps the greatest charm lies in the youthfulness of the characters and of the author; for, according to Horace, he only can move us to tears who himself has wept, and the same is true in art; the freshness of youth can only be reproduced by one who is still young, or by one who, despite his age, has not grown old.

Other stories, such as "The Charcoal Sketches," "Janko the Musician," "Memoirs of a Teacher from Posen," "In the New Promised Land," "Across the Prairie," and "The Light-house Keeper," show that simple and even meagre subjects provide the author with tragedies, powerful in the poignancy of their pathos, which move the reader. Sienkiewicz is never lacking in skill, and whether he is describing a voyage in an emigrant ship, the tender, fanciful thoughts of a young girl for her lover, or the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sufferings of the exile and his children, he brings to his aid that keen mastery in the treatment of his subject that forms the distinguishing characteristic of all his best work. His power lies in the simplicity and strength of his conception. In all his stories there is sentiment and higher aspiration, but in none is there the passion of the doctrinaire. The author is before all an artist, who receives and classifies his impressions. He has a liking for pessimism, but that can scarcely be avoided in the present times.

The story "In Tartar Captivity" marks an epoch in Sienkiewicz's literary career. His previous stories, although not one amongst them was like another, justified the apprehension that the author might become a monotonous mannerist. Even in "Janko the Musician," although it was a masterpiece, sentimentality and realism were pushed to the highest degree; a little more of this would have produced affectation and mannerism in conception and style. In "In Tartar Captivity" the author strikes another note, widening the scope of his conceptions, changing the style and background of his story, and showing that it is not difficult for him to avoid the grave danger of mannerism. His former stories were full of poetry, charm, fancy and sentiment, but there was something wanting in them. One could see the author's sympathy with suffering, his indignation at wrong, his noble ideas of love, of honor, of woman and the duties of man towards her; but it was difficult to tell from his stories what kind of character he preferred. After "In Tartar Captivity" was written these doubts and apprehensions disappeared, Sienkiewicz was saved from the danger of repeating himself, of becoming a one-sided sectarian, and he justified the hopes of those who expected him to become the great, the very great, writer he proved himself to be in "By Fire and Sword."

This novel begins well; its color is gloomy, and in it is heard the rumbling of the thunder of a great war. The characters are boldly drawn; they have some chivalrous fancy and dignity. The episodes follow each other rapidly, and are full of interest, movement and life. In that work could be seen the first-fruits of a great talent, and, what is more surprising, a talent quite different from that displayed in the former works of the author. He changed entirely, and he now looked on the world from a lofty height. Such is the impression produced by the opening chapters of this book.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It would take too long to mention all the chapters, or to explain all its beauties. To its artistic merits there must be added the moral importance of the work. Compared with the usual class of novels, almost always weak, and generally harmful by their perversive tendencies, their paradoxical ideas, their daring and apparently deep discussion of social or philosophical themes, and by their immorality, sometimes unwitting, but frequently conscious, proud of itself, cynical, scandalizing and disgusting, compared with such novels, "By Fire and Sword" is as superior in interest and beauty as the sun is in beauty to the gas-light. At the same time it is thoroughly healthy, without any falsehood or evil, so that any mother can give it to her daughter to read, and be sure that her imagination will not be sullied; it is such a good novel that every father should be pleased if his son reads it with enthusiasm, for it will be a proof that to the boy's heart and imagination speaks that which is noble—honor, self-sacrifice, duty, valor, love of country and faith.

Having begun the book, the reader's attention is riveted to it not only by curiosity, but by enthusiasm. The author dominates the reader, and arouses his respect for his work. And when the writer describes skirmishes and battles—Chmielnicki tempting Kshechkowski to become a traitor, Flick perishing with his Germans; when, after the battle of Korsun, there pass by the generals who have been taken prisoners—then the astonished reader feels that he beholds something of which hitherto he has had no idea. When at length a knight, who has been taken prisoner, is brought before the traitor, who holds his death or life in his hands, their conversation seems like the conversation of two nations—as though they realized that history itself, the conscience of centuries, the truth itself, were their judges.

In this novel, Sienkiewicz has created a type of national knights and heroes, without which no literature can be complete. Czarniecki, Zolkiewski and Jan Sobieski, the last of the European knights, bear a far greater resemblance to Godefroi and St. Louis, than to their contemporaries Turenne, Condé and Marlborough; and if search were to be made throughout the whole of Europe for men who fought with such lofty sentiments as those Polish knights, they would only be found in poetry.

Then there is another type, a simple, healthy and great soul in the body of one who was a simple soldier, but who was *sans*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

pcur et sans reproche, like the Chevalier de Bayard. Skrzetuski is a model of everything noble, great and pure that during all ages has filled the Polish soul; he feels, thinks, suffers, fights, loves, as did the noblest in that nation.

In his former stories, Sienkiewicz frequently showed much original humor and brilliant wit. In "By Fire and Sword" he created a character that must be placed on a level with Sancho-Panza and Falstaff. By his shrewdness, Zagloba reminds us of Sancho-Panza; for his cowardice, his jokes, and his boisterousness he may be compared with Falstaff.

In this novel, it is evident that the author is not only familiar with history, but with old chronicles and memoirs, and that he has also searched manuscripts for information. But what he could not have found in books, the thing he could not have learned anywhere, is the secret of how to write a novel without falsifying history—how to write a series of epic pictures, and at the same time remain true to history, never changing or twisting the facts, which follow each other in the novel in the same order as in history.

From its grand style and character, as well as because of the historical facts introduced into it, this novel is something new, and oversteps the boundaries of historical romance as they have been understood up to the present. In its grand style, it almost resembles an epic poem; whilst, from its historical exactitude, it may be regarded as a higher, more artistic history. Here there is no question of the tedious and stiff exactness that every pedantic historian can possess; the only question is how to retain the true characteristics of the epoch and of the facts, not changing them through fancy, conventional poetry, or tendency. From this point of view, there is not a romance superior to "By Fire and Sword." Sir Walter Scott, the first and perhaps the greatest master of romance, caught the characteristics of an epoch admirably, but he often falsified it by his desire to embellish it. Alexandre Dumas rather plays with than feels history; he is familiar, and reproduces its scandalous and gossipy chronicles rather than its serious side.

The historical and epic character of this romance does not spoil the story, for it develops very interesting situations, and the incidents are so cleverly united one with the other that, after all, the reader is compelled to admire the art of the plot. It

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

might be said that some of the characters disappear too quickly; that there is no proportion between the powerful manner in which they are drawn, and the secondary rôle they play in the story; and that some of the episodes are too long. Yet, despite this, the further one reads, the more fascinating does the book appear.

"By Fire and Sword" was closely followed by another romance, "The Deluge." In this story, there are plenty of dramatic situations and great historical exactitude; the skirmishes, sorties, and battles are most masterly. The principal character, Kmita, is like a knight taken from Ariosto, or Tasso, performing miracles of valor, animated solely by the great sentiment of patriotism.

Critics objected to Sir Walter Scott's romances on the ground that they were too crowded with secondary characters, and that they contained too many secondary episodes. It does not matter whether this was done purposely, or only through the habit of talkativeness, his books did not lose anything by it, for very frequently shepherds, watchmen, blackguards, pick-pockets, and old women give life to his romances.

The same objection and excuse can be brought forward with regard to Sienkiewicz in his "Deluge," and yet the whole of that romance is most remarkable, the plot being very well conceived, and the connection of episodes maintained throughout the book. The liveliness of the action is such that, even when the narration slackens, there is no slackening of the interest; whilst the execution is so good, that even those parts that might be considered the most feeble could not be better written. Sienkiewicz possesses in the highest degree that artistic capacity called by the Germans "objective," the capacity of looking into another's soul, and of describing indifferently all that he sees within that soul; and he also is endowed with that rare but precious gift of feeling, it might also be said, of compassion, without which no poet or artist can be moved himself, or succeed in moving others. This capacity does not come from the imagination, but from the heart. Sienkiewicz is enthusiastic about all that is noble; he is indignant at all that is wicked, pities those who are unfortunate, despises all that is vile, and it is because we feel that he feels his books that they interest us so greatly.

Sienkiewicz is one of those rare artists who unite a lofty flight and a poetic way of regarding the world with perfect truth, melt-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing both in his cruset of poetry. Living in an age of realism, he cannot help being influenced by it and being himself a realist; but his realism is very different from the realism that is the result of positive philosophy and deep pessimism. Positive philosophy, the victory of Prussian policy and power in history, have produced that stiff and hopeless realism, that truth without beauty, those pictures, well painted, but without soul or thought, those novels in which there is much intelligent observation, but no fancy; novels which despite the great talent of their authors are only technically good, and are almost always insignificant, empty or repulsive.

In "The Deluge" everything is different from what we find in "By Fire and Sword," except the technique; yet, notwithstanding this difference, there is a certain similarity, and then it is not so powerful as the first of his romances. Sienkiewicz did not allow his fancy enough rest after writing "By Fire and Sword." He knew that his imagination was powerful, abundant, fertile and obedient; he felt that he could rely on it, and he was not disappointed. The author had time to think out and build a plan, to sketch out characters and episodes; but he had no time to wait for the moment in which he could perceive with his mind, and in their proper light, the characters and episodes that he had sketched. Hence some of the episodes are too long, there are too many scenes *de capa y espada,* too many gallant deeds, too many miraculous deliverances. Upon reflection, however, it must be admitted that the drawbacks are more or less the same as in his first romance; but at the same time there are different, although equally great, masterly and incomparable beauties.

Those who are familiar with Homer might say that Sienkiewicz was greatly influenced by that author, not only in his description of fights and battles, but also in repeating the adjectives that he chose for certain of his characters. This, however, is not a serious objection, nor is his evident liking for Dumas; for it is not difficult to understand that a romance writer can learn a great deal through studying by what means the author of "The Three Musketeers" gives life, movement and color to his characters and episodes; and although there is a vast difference between the amusing talker of history and its poet, one can see that the talker may be useful to the poet.

"Pan Michael" closes the historical trilogy, it is the least

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strong of the three, and is artistically inferior to "By Fire and Sword" and to "The Deluge."

Having finished this trilogy, Sienkiewicz journeyed to Italy, then to Constantinople, and a year later visited Spain. His fancy was evidently exhausted through long and hard work, and could produce nothing of importance, save some impressions and a few short stories, amongst which are "The Decision of Zeus," "A Country Artist," "Be Blessed," "At the Source," "In Bohemia," and "True to his Art."

In 1891 he visited Egypt, Zanzibar, Bagamojo and the continent between the rivers Uam and Kingan. The result of his travels was a volume called "Letters from Africa."

In 1889 he had written his first psychological novel, "Without Dogma."

In 1893 he went for the summer to the Carpathian Mountains, and there, whilst chatting with his literary friends about Paul Bourget's "Disciple," a work then much read and commented on, he conceived the idea of writing a more important theme-novel called "Children of the Soil."

"Without Dogma" is a novel representing one detail of the last quarter of the nineteenth century, its one pathological side, its one psychological phenomenon and moral problem. There are only a few characters, just as many as were absolutely necessary to spin out a story. The tendency of the story is evident from its title. Without faith, without the capacity for believing, man loses the capacity for love. He would love everything that is good, if he could believe that this good would be of any use to him. As he does not love, he cannot wish for anything; having no wishes he cannot act. And he comes to naught without having brought out anything from within him, even his own happiness, and without having accomplished anything save his own misfortune and the misfortune of those surrounding him. But not every one is utterly incapable of loving; for that, it is necessary to be very stupid and very bad. Consequently, the hero in this novel loves, and the object of his love is unavoidable . . . woman. But not having loved anything or any one before her, he cannot love the woman well, healthily, simply, although he loves her passionately. Thus he brings to naught first the happiness of them both, then their lives, hers first, his afterwards.

Ploshovski, the hero of the novel, is a being morally decom-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

posed, as were many in ancient times, as well as in our own days. Everything is disappointing. In what should one believe, what should one love, for what should one live? Some answer these questions by suicide, others by sad philosophical resignation. Pilatus asked: "*Quid est veritas?*" Petronius replies that truth is the enjoyment of life through the senses, lack of suffering, and an abundance of pleasant sensations. In our century there are also many who suffer in the same way. Philosophy taught them that man is only an accidental agglomeration of atoms. God? If He exist, He is at best a great unknown; faith in Him, Christianity in general, is a product of the imagination, like the pagan mythology. Man and humanity, its progress, its tendency to become better, is an illusion. History taught them that it was only the old crimes of the world dressed in new clothes, and that in the whole of so-called progress, the only real thing is material civilization, which has increased the comfort of life and its pleasures. Liberty, in which people believed, and which they loved half a century ago, is bankrupt; in practice it proved to be the right of the stronger, as was formerly the case, only circumstances have changed. Fatherland? Good cause? If it be feeble, it must perish, and no heroic efforts can save it; the only law ruling the world is, "Might before right."

Sienkiewicz noticed all these dangerous symptoms making havoc amongst people, and of them he has built a general type, a kind of ideal man-in-decomposition, and this he did as a warning, as though he would say: Look to what you may come, if you have no will, and no strength, and allow yourselves to be dominated by doubts, if you will not search for that will and strength where you can find it for certain.

It is certain that Goethe in writing "Werther," did not propose to idealize sickly sentimentality, or to encourage suicide. Yet Werther has created a school both in literature and in life. But Goethe's hero possesses at least the charm of true poetry. Sienkiewicz has been more careful; on every page he seems to emphasize the fact that his hero is good for nothing. But it was of no use, such a hero as Ploshovski pleases in our days, and produces hundreds of "monkey-clowns."

And now, what is the artistic value of the book? It seems to me that the story is clever rather than attractive and fascinating. The subject itself was not suitable for great and elevated pictures

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of life, as was the case with his historical romances; whilst the form of a diary, in which it was written, made the novel monotonous, although it must be admitted that the author could not have employed any other form. The hero of this novel observes himself continually; he looks at all his thoughts, all his sentiments, all his passions and inclinations. It is therefore plain that such thoughts of a man about himself could not be put in any other form than that of a diary. Such a being in decomposition, as is the hero of this novel, could not be complete; decomposition would not be entire, unless he was constantly thinking about himself, analyzing himself. Ploshovski has no self-esteem, he does not care for himself, yet he is always thinking about himself, and indeed, he cannot do otherwise. He is constantly analyzing each one of his thoughts, impressions, inclinations, and likings. He does not know how he is, what is true, and what is untrue, what is stable, and what is fleeting; he knows not why he exists, or what will become of him. But the less he knows, the more surprised he is that he does not know, and he would like to know why he is as he is. Of course, such a conversation of a man with himself could only be written in the form of a diary, and a diary must be monotonous. That it is not wearisome is a proof of the author's great talent. And the merits of the novel, such as the depth of its conception, the truth and vivacity of its characters, and its remarkable episodes, far outweigh all its drawbacks.

Some critics have asserted that "Without Dogma" is very like Bourget's "Disciple," but an attentive reading of both novels shows that the apparent likeness lies in this, that Ploshovski and Greloux are both products of the unhealthy philosophical and religious ideas of our times. These ideas act constantly everywhere and on every one, they produce thousands of phenomena, but each of these phenomena is different. An observer, psychologist or artist, is right in looking at them all, in studying them all, and in using them, but that does not mean that he imitates another author when he meets him on the same field.

"Disciple" is a very deep novel, and the preface to it is, perhaps, the best thing Bourget ever wrote. Then, too, it is constructed in a masterly manner, and in that respect, this novel of Bourget's is superior to that of Sienkiewicz. But the heroes of the novels are as opposite as the poles. Ploshovski lacks will, he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hesitates, he knows not what he thinks, feels, or wishes. Greloux knows perfectly what he wishes, and his will is so stubborn, and inexorable, that he commits crime in order to satisfy it. Ploshovski doubts continually, and constantly repeats: "I do not know." Greloux believes blindly in all that he considers truth. Ploshovski is good for nothing, but he is neither bad, nor perverse, nor a villain; his heart is not hard, his conscience does not sleep altogether, and his egotism has certain limits. Greloux, on the contrary, is so energetic, that he is capable of everything, but of everything that is the worst. Ploshovski regrets some of his deeds, he is therefore capable of improvement, of regeneration; Greloux is always proud of what he has done.

In his second psychological novel, "Children of the Soil," Sienkiewicz created large pictures of life, embraced more phenomena, made more observations, and delivered a stronger sermon. There are a great many characters in this novel, but each has its own personal and lively physiognomy, each has a certain importance in the world and in life; many of them, when they speak, say something remarkable, original, and worthy of attention. Those who do not astonish by their cleverness, or attract by their nobleness, surprise by the truth of their shortcomings, their wickedness, or ridiculousness, and they either amuse the reader or make him thoughtful.

The elements of the novel are various, but they are united by one question, of which all the characters are examples and proofs. People have lied since the beginning of the world, but did they lie and dissimulate as much as they do in the present century, in which the expression "to pose" was created in order to express a certain idea and phenomenon that had not existed before? The desire to appear different from what one is, to play some rôle, is a common drawback of the present age. In the first half of the nineteenth century, people affected a poetical and exceptional superiority of mind, and sentimentality of heart, unintelligible to and ridiculed by ordinary people. Then the form changed, but the thing remained. The comedy of appearing poetical went out of fashion, but the inclination to play a comedy did not pass, it only assumed different shapes. The customs of the century facilitated this affectation, and made the playing of some part easy to every one. Enterprise, associations, exchange, various speculations, enabled persons to pretend to be richer than they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

really were. The spread of journalism allowed persons to pretend that they knew about politics, whilst the parliaments enabled them to pretend that they possessed political ability. The same journalism furnished the opportunity and temptation to persons to pretend they possessed a talent for writing. Numberless books, shallow encyclopædias and handbooks with an apparently scientific and scholarly varnish, enable many to pretend that they have had a good education, whilst they enable others to pretend they are savants. Cheap publications, illustrations, photographs facilitate an apparent knowledge of art. In every field, there are many successful persons, and their easy success has encouraged others. The world saw men who, at the small expense of a little rhetorical parading, became important, gained positions in the government of the country, and became famous for a short time, if not for long. The world saw men who became famous in literature, although their talents entitled them to no such fame. Then there were others, who, without money or worth, from their cleverness and impudence became rich through speculating on the exchange. Seeing these things, people concluded that they who wished to succeed must make an appearance; wishing to make an appearance, they must pose; and the proper means for this was advertisement, the result of which was a true success for many persons, and a general masquerading in which man very frequently was not what he seemed. A great orator proved an empty bladder when he became a minister. A powerful leader of an opposition cut his lion's claws when he obtained a portfolio. A great financier has been several times on the verge of bankruptcy, has used who knows what means to escape the threatened calamity, but although the sword of Damocles is hanging over his head, he still pretends that his credit is good. In twenty years no one will know anything of a "great" writer; he is great to-day, and he is satisfied. The whole art lies in rising on some kind of stilts, the rest follows easily. There is conscious, wilful, hypocritical dissembling of sentiments, convictions, and even of principles and abilities. But there is also a dissimulation that does not know that it is dissimulation, and half believes in its own sincerity. This rôle pleased. It was easy to play, was applauded and became another custom, so much so that the actors themselves frequently do not know what is natural in them and what is artificial. Like the romantic Byronist of half a century back,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

so now the contemporary decadent will swear in good faith that he honestly thinks and believes what he says; as formerly the poetical lady, not understood by her husband, and chasing her ideal, played the rôle of Madame Sand's Lelia, and had no doubts as to her sufferings and aspirations, so now the same modern feminist is persuaded that her enthusiasm in the good cause is sincere. But none of them will conscientiously investigate their sentiments and the aim of their aspirations, and thus they are dishonest with themselves, as Rabagas and Tartuffe were with others.

This dishonesty, this comedy, this falsehood in sentiments and convictions, in capabilities and vocations is one of the most serious diseases of the present century. It appears in the customs of social life, in literature, in science, and it is perhaps, in a certain measure, the cause of the misfortunes in history.

We see this in " Children of the Soil," in which there is a group of persons who are honestly what they are, and have no wish to appear anything different. They love something, wish for something, they strive after something, do something, but they do not pretend anything; they are honest with themselves and with others; they speak as they think, and do as they say. On the other side, there is another group of persons, who are vain and dissimulating; these care only for effect or for pleasure. Theirs are not political or patriotic dissimulations, for the Russian censor would not pass them. On the common background of social life, each of these comedies has its aim and its special means, its characteristics, and its physiognomy. The elements of truth and dissimulation mix for a time, but they cannot unite, they separate; and, through their specific weight, there lies at the bottom, the truth of work, of love, of duty, of the matrimonial vow, and with these, the truth of happiness, so far as it is possible in this world. Then disappears the smoke and exhalation of falsehood in the fight for money, falsehood in love, falsehood in religion and philosophy, falsehood in art, falsehood in sentiments, principles and customs.

Sincerity and dissimulation in life, the hidden element, the purpose of the author, which the parts of the novel unite, gives it organic unity and great importance. It is that thread of Ariadne, which once grasped enables the reader to go boldly and surely through all the windings and labyrinths of misunderstanding between lovers, matrimonial fidelity, breach of trust, money

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

speculations, religious and philosophical ideas, which come in turns and chain his attention.

There are in it none of the elements that are found in the novels of bygone days; there are no intrigues, secrets, perils, poetical heroes, ideal heroines, or villains—all that formerly constituted the charm of a novel, and made the reader tremble for the fate of the sublime heroine, and turn the pages feverishly to learn what was the end of it all. Madame Sand had such a method of writing, so also had Bulwer in his first novels, and he did not get rid of it entirely in his later work. Balzac's novels contain dramas, if not tragedies; some entanglement is necessary to make a novel. All this is changed now. All over the world, the novel has become more like every-day life, in which there are sorrows, true poetical situations, and sometimes dramas; but they all pass quietly without any effect, and sentiments are expressed without rhetoric and recitation. To-day a novel can be written without any complicated plot, it might almost be said, without any plot at all; it can be written and be a success, although its episodes are taken from every-day life, and the incidents are insignificant. "Children of the Soil" is entirely a modern novel.

Yet, if this novel resembles any other, we must turn for this resemblance not to the modern, but to old and great works, such as Thackeray's "Vanity Fair" and "The Newcomes," in which very interesting and true characters appear on a background of every-day life, and where the themes are cleverly resolved, and all this is done apparently without any effort in the composition of the plot. Yet there is a certain difference; while Thackeray in his more serious situations verges upon pretentious pathos, and while his good characters, especially the women, are languidly poetic, and their perfections conventional, it would be difficult to raise such an objection to Sienkiewicz's work, or to prove it logically. Many things in the "Children of the Soil" seem to be accidental and patch-work, but a closer attention proves that everything is perfectly connected. The fundamental thought in novels constitutes a kind of cement, fastening together the apparently disconnected episodes it contains. "Children of the Soil" is not *un roman à thèse;* although it proves certain truths, they are proved without pedantry and without preaching. In a theme novel, the author takes one of his philosophical ideas, and creates his characters and episodes in order to prove it. Sienkiewicz acts

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

differently. He does not accept a theme *a priori*. He observes characters, as they are, he sees that these characters fall away, more or less, not from rules and formulas purposely invented by him, but from the laws of human nature, life, conscience and logic, binding on every one. He points out these deviations. This pointing out follows some conclusion, viz., the affirmation of some true and general psychological and moral verity.

"Children of the Soil" seems to be a sermon about good faith, the foundation of all that is of any value in people, the foundation of all justice and durability of relation; of that good faith, the lack of which is a great moral evil in people, families, and nations. The downfall of honor in men and honesty in women, the corruption of public and private morals, dishonest business transactions and gains, corrupt and corrupting journalism, the taking advantage of position and influence, the downfall of true patriotism and the substitution of a counterfeit, all these come from the source called bad faith. Panama scandals, falsely great men, and overrated celebrities in art, literature, and public life, as well as false politics and their consequent calamities, all these come from lack of good faith. Sienkiewicz fights against this evil, this disease.

The moral that exists in "Children of the Soil," and which is not hidden, is in perfect harmony with the requirements and conditions of a very interesting story. There is not in the book one, even a secondary, character that is not full of life and personal individuality, well conceived and carefully executed. Besides, there are logic, masterly workmanship, humor and wit.

Before deciding to write a great romance, Sienkiewicz wrote the short story called "In Tartar Captivity," as though he wished to try his strength and see if he were capable of writing a great work conceived and executed in a great style. Similarly, "*Quo Vadis*" was preceded by the short story "Anthea." Until then Sienkiewicz's fancy had dwelt in the Christian and Polish world; a pan-human subject from universal history was beyond his horizon. "Anthea" shows that this horizon was widening, as well as that the artist was attracted by more difficult tasks in proportion as he felt his strength increasing. To grasp the spirit of ancient times is a difficult task, for which talent and intuition alone are not sufficient. In order to perceive these people with the eyes of the soul and penetrate into their hearts and minds,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

it was necessary to study them. As soon as Sienkiewicz's thoughts turned in that direction, he began an earnest study of ancient history and literature, and travelled in Italy and Greece. During this time the author's spirit of enterprise increased, the moral position of the man became more serious, and the character of the novel grew more important. This could already be noticed in "Anthea" where we find at its height the power of natural magic that makes words live, and the rare gift of reproducing the past without the academic tone that kills interest.

"Anthea" was the forerunner of "*Quo Vadis,*" a book that has made Sienkiewicz's name known, famous and respected, it might be said, in every corner of the world where there are people who can read. In studying the distant past, Sienkiewicz was struck with the struggle between Paganism and Christianity, and the way in which the latter acted on the former, as well as by the gigantic pictures of profligacy and crime in the Roman Empire. The enterprise was bold, for the greatest master could not have told whether his strength and fancy were sufficient to represent such a character as Nero, or such episodes as the burning of Rome, and the tortures of the circus. Any one in touching such a subject stakes his reputation as an artist. A shallow and presumptuous writer does not see the danger, he would attempt anything and produce something that would satisfy persons of mediocre taste, and gratify the paltry ambition of the author. But the author whose aim is higher, who does not wish merely praise, but craves a lasting glory, will not be satisfied with conventionally rhetorical and sweet pictures of martyrs, as was the Count de Châteaubriand. In Christian literature there are very many books about ancient times and the early Christian church, and in the past century many novels have been written having those times as their background. But all previous authors have regarded the subject quite differently. For Cardinal Wiseman, antiquity and the form of the novel were a mere pretext for his religious purpose. In "Ben-Hur" the pre-occupation of writing a novel with a new subject was the principal aim of the author, whilst the "Last Days of Pompeii" is a story of incidents and intrigues with some mixture of religion.

Sienkiewicz's point of view was entirely different; he wanted to show how God's truth, because it is the only truth, conquered pagan might, and that this conquest was accomplished by super-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

natural force. This point of view once adopted, the author was obliged not only to take into consideration and to bring forth the relation of Christianity towards persons of various characters, but also to observe different kinds and degrees of faith, love and valor amongst the Christians themselves. This plan Sienkiewicz fastened to the tradition that furnished him with the title of his book, the tradition of St. Peter leaving Rome to escape martyrdom, and being turned from his purpose by Christ. In introducing St. Peter, the author ran the risk of being unable to create that character, and of remaining inferior to his task; by introducing Christ awkwardly, he would wound the reader's religious ideas and feelings. Sienkiewicz conquered all these difficulties, and created a masterpiece.

The contents of this story are very simple. There are no entanglements, no intrigues; but situations, dramatic and sometimes bewildering, are brought about and solved with great and marvellous technical skill; there are also pictures of immense strength, and some of exquisite charm; there are characters conceived with incomparable intuition, and executed with talent equal to the intuition.

Never before has Sienkiewicz shown himself such a great artist as in drawing the characters in "*Quo Vadis*"; especially he has succeeded with Petronius, whose figure he has chiselled to perfection, not with minute work, but with bold and sure strokes. He has preserved the tranquillity of classical form of the *arbiter elegantiarum,* and at the same time he has unveiled all the secrets of his soul. The description of the orgies in Nero's palace was, from the artistic point of view, absolutely necessary, in order to give a true picture of the corruption of ancient life, and to contrast it with the simplicity and purity of the Christians. That background was also necessary for showing Nero, and as soon as he appears, the reader sees how cruel, perverse, false, treacherous, vain and stupid that ruler of the world was. Sienkiewicz did not neglect a single detail that might serve to bring out the bad side of Nero's character and show the deep corruption of his surroundings; but he has not done this more than was absolutely necessary to make the picture true, he has not overstepped the boundaries of art to produce a great sensation, and this has secured his reputation as a true artist.

The horrid pictures of corruption, the dismal description of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the conflagration of Rome, have been intermingled by the author with sweet idyls, such as the meeting of Lygia and Vinicius towards evening, in the little garden, and pictures of the Christians in their meetings for prayer; that giant in crime, Nero, is contrasted with the spiritually gigantic forms of St. Peter and St. Paul, whilst that perfect ideal of villainy, Chilo—the spy, delator, pick-pocket, coward, traitor, and flatterer, the avaricious, revengeful, and jealous man—is contrasted with the simple-minded, good-hearted giant Ursus, whose figure, created with a few strokes of the author's pen, looks like one of those unfinished figures by Michael Angelo.

Sienkiewicz has taken a subject from universal history, a subject very interesting to a well educated man, a subject that will interest as long as the world exists, but one exceedingly difficult to treat owing to the extremes of gigantic size in heroism and virtue, as well as in crime and corruption. It is well known now that Sienkiewicz did not overrate his strength; his success has been complete, overwhelming, astonishing and universal.

He deserves his success, for his mastercraft is surprising, and his erudition is so deep that, whilst reading "*Quo Vadis*," the reader feels in the story Tacitus, Juvenal and Suetonius, not because the many details are historically true, but because the characters and relations of the people are historically faithful.

As is the background, so also the characters are created by intuition and a deep knowledge of the times and people. There is not one unnecessary character in the book, no matter how insignificant that character may be. Even such secondary characters as Acte, Poppæa, Eunice and Pomponia, stand out, and have their own physiognomy, and their own life. Lygia—all Sienkiewicz's heroines are a little too feeble if compared with his heroes—Lygia, although bound by the events of the story to be passive, has by her great love and holiness a distinct individuality and character. Beneath his toga of a Roman patrician, and with his form like that of a Greek god, Vinicius has some resemblance to a Polish knight. He is not at first as perfect as the hero in "By Fire and Sword," but he has the same sense of honor and honesty, and in regard to self-sacrifice, perseverance, and self-control, he is at the end of the story quite equal to the Pole.

But above all other characters, on the summit of, and as the personification of, two worlds at war, stand St. Peter and Nero.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The latter is carefully and gradually developed, and shown in the depths of his moral emptiness—filled with the desire of creating impressions, devouring thousands of victims, his burning of Rome, the applause of the circus, his poetry and art, the poisoning of persons, the murder of his own mother, and his never being satisfied with anything. St. Peter appears seldom, and speaks little, but he speaks with such strength that one feels he is indeed a rock.

As well as background and character, there must also be noticed that happy restraint which is never forgotten by the author when describing the terrible tortures or the disgusting feast; and this, united with the masterly technique with which the whole story, in even its smallest details, is written, makes "*Quo Vadis*" deserving of its renown from an artistic point of view.

One might dwell for a long while on the religious and moral value of the book. It might be said that by the question, "Whither goest thou?" Sienkiewicz intended to show that the modern longing after some other truth is wrong, and that modern literature, with its misty aspirations, does not guide to where truth and life are alone to be found. But it is better to leave this to the moralist or the preacher by profession. The purpose of this paper is accomplished, for it shows that Sienkiewicz is a great artist. This fact the author has again proved in his last historical romance, "The Knights of the Cross." The ardent and noble patriotism of the author gives to that work an incomparable charm, whilst the literary value of the book makes it not a romance, but a poem, a true heroic poem, recalling the Iliad, and representing not so much the fate of individuals, as a fight between two races, the German and the Slav.

Hippolite Taine would say of Sienkiewicz, that he has discovered and walked along all paths of contemporary thought, travelled through all countries, both old and new, seen ancient and modern civilization, and studied the people as they are in their own countries, and their own homes. His talent of observation has thus become surprisingly keen, without his losing the freshness of his sentiments. Sienkiewicz is a modern writer in the full and high meaning of the word. The Poles are justly proud of him, for through him there has fallen on them a glory such as they have not known since the time of Adam Mickiewicz.

S. C. DE SOISSONS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE EFFORT TO ABOLISH THE DUEL.

BY H. R. H. PRINCE ALFONSO DE BOURBON ET AUTRICHE-ESTE.

I LEARN with the greatest pleasure that in America as well as in England people are interested in the movement against duelling which I started recently on the Continent. I am not surprised at this, for England and America are less the slaves of prejudice than other nations, and they love and put into practice the principles of true progress, true liberty, and true civilization. I have had opportunities of seeing this for myself, and of admiring it in the different tours I have made in the two countries, and in the English Colonies which are veritable models of honest and intelligent administration.

From my youth up I have had a horror of the duel, which I have always considered as blamable, not only in that it is forbidden by the law of God, but also from the view point of reason, for I know nothing more idiotic, barbarous, and unworthy of the times in which we live. But I did not think I could meddle with the custom, although I was often greatly tempted to give public expression to my views.

As I pass some weeks in the spring of each year at Vienna and a part of the summer and autumn in my castle, which is situated in the mountainous region of Upper Austria, the opportunity came to me last summer of pronouncing my opinions. At the beginning of the spring of 1900, a duel that caused some talk took place between two Austrian officers. These officers were the best of friends; but, on account of some remarks made by one of them, they agreed to fight a duel with pistols. It happened, however, that they made up their dispute almost immediately and no longer wished to fight. In spite of this, the seconds *obliged them to do so*. Although one of the two thought he fired into the air, an unhappy chance directed the course of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ball, and the Comte de Bissingen was shot dead on the spot. He left a young wife, who was *enceinte,* and two little children. The widow cannot get over her grief, and the adversary of the husband became almost mad with despair at having killed so good a friend.

A short time afterward another affair happened, also in Austria, in the same spring of 1900. This was the case of the young Lieutenant of Hussars, the Marquis Antoine Tacoli, who had served for seven years in the army. Taking upon himself to defend an Archduke whom another officer, Monsieur Szilay, was speaking against, he was insulted by the latter. Immediately everything was done to force Tacoli to challenge Szilay to a duel. Tacoli refused, saying that as a Catholic he could not consent to fight a duel. For this he was branded as a coward, deprived of his commission and placed in the reserve as a private soldier. Later on he was registered as a common soldier in the *réserve du train,* as it was considered that the position of private in the cavalry reserve was too honorable for him.

Another Austrian officer, captain of the military staff, Count Josef de Ledochowsky, who had served for fifteen years, an officer of rare diligence, education and intelligence, loved and respected by his superiors and companions, was consulted by Tacoli, whom he advised in a private letter to lay the affair before a tribunal of honor. This letter was obtained from him by force. Ledochowsky was questioned before a military tribunal about his private convictions, and was obliged to declare himself on the subject. With rare heroism the Count asserted that he thought exactly like the Marquis Tacoli about duelling, and in consequence of this he suffered the same fate as Tacoli and lost his commission. A few days later, the two officers were deprived also of the rank and civil title of Chamberlain to the Emperor.

As I was an old friend of the father of the Marquis Tacoli, and as I wished to give the greatest publicity to those unparalleled facts which the people concerned tried to hush up, I wrote this open letter to the young Marquis Antoine Tacoli:

"*August 26, 1900.*

"DEAR MARQUIS TACOLI,

"Although I have already congratulated you verbally at Vienna, in May, on your noble and courageous conduct, on the occasion when you refused to ask satisfaction by arms of a person who knew your prin-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ciples, and knew that, faithful to these, you would refuse to fight a duel; yet now that the press is again busying itself with the affair, I would like again to express to you my congratulations and the admiration that I feel for you and for all those who have courage enough to act in the same way.

"Although a foreigner, I have always had a great admiration and deep affection for the Austrian army. . . . All that concerns this army is of the deepest interest to me, and that is why I hope your fine example will bear fruit and will not be forgotten, and that the entire press, no matter of what political opinion, will notice it; it is by this means alone that the inhuman prejudice in favor of duelling will disappear little by little. Among the Catholics, no person, either civil or military, could or ought ever in any circumstance to accept a duel. I am a good Catholic who is resolved never to act in defiance of the laws of the Church; but it is not only on such grounds that I have always been an enemy of duelling, for, considered only from the view-point of the Church's ban, the practice would only be blamable for Catholics, while I consider that duelling in general is a barbarous custom, absolutely unworthy of our times and of our civilization, and one that every civilized man who uses his reason (no matter to what religion he belongs, or even if he is of no religion) should oppose.

"I am certain that a hundred years hence people will talk of these so-called 'affairs of honor' just as we talk of some of the judgments of the Middle Ages, and they will not be able to understand how we were so foolish as to submit to such a senseless custom. How odd it will be to read in history some day that So-and-so, hearing some one remark that he was not very elegant in his person, or something of that kind, had been constrained by his friends to wash out this insult in his own blood! And what will be said of the state of things in which each man had the right to kill his neighbor for a hard word, provided he observed certain formalities and rules, and provided that the offender was of the same class as the person offended, who was forced to expose himself to being killed or to kill. Was it possible to be so uncivilized in those times? they will wonder. But will they not also say that we were slaves, shorn of all intellectual independence, who submitted to this ferocious nonsense, which even then was not sanctioned by any law? And these good people of the future will be quite right.

"It is sad to think that so many people who are sufficiently on a level with the progress of to-day to understand that duelling is as ridiculous as the exploits of Don Quixote—though far more baneful, more criminal and less chivalrous—should meanly give their judgment into the thraldom of the minority and tremblingly keep silence. There is no question of insubordination in the matter; for, on the contrary, to protest against an abuse is to obey an established law. If the leaders of thought had always had as little courage in declaring reforms, no progress would have been possible, and to-day we should be busy burning so-called sorcerers. There is no lack of young men who think in the same way of the duel; and, if all would unite in order to defend their opinions on the subject, these opinions in time would prevail.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"One cannot deny that England is one of the most civilized and most progressive nations in the world. And in what war have any officers behaved more valorously than the English officers in the South African war? Yet these same officers, who went to death with such marvellous coolness, spurn the idea of the duel, considering it below the present plane of our civilization. Besides, is it proof of great courage for a man to go and fight because constrained thereto by his comrades, and knowing that if he refuses he is not only excluded from the society of his equals but also loses his rank—which spells ruin for many of these people?

"So it is that one must kill or be killed or be utterly cast out. What an unpleasant position one is liable to be put into, just to suit the good pleasure of a few companions who decide about it as if it were a sporting game of some kind. In my opinion, it needs real courage to do what you and Count Ledochowsky have done—to allow yourselves to be placed under a ban and to give up your careers, in order to remain faithful to your Catholic principles, and at the same time to be faithful to a law that still exists and which is included in all those to which a soldier vows allegiance.

"Hoping that you will receive many other congratulations, as you well deserve to do, I remain heartily, dear Marquis,

"Your affectionate friend,

"ALFONSO DE BOURBON ET AUTRICHE-ESTE."

The whole press took notice of my letter and in reality approved of my ideas. From communications that came to me from all countries, I knew that a movement against duelling would be favorably received by all reasonable people the world over, and the idea occurred to me to create an International League against duelling.

The League so formed is not of any religious or political character; people of all opinions and belonging to every party are welcome. The work of the League is on two separate lines, on which it hopes to advance simultaneously. One is, to win public opinion. It is important to set right in the acceptation of society the sense of the words "cowardice" and "courage," which are so ill applied with regard to duelling. We wish to make society admit (society is supposed to make the laws) that unwillingness to fight a duel does not make one a coward, and that it is not a proof of courage to submit to a custom which cannot be avoided without terrible consequences. One is a coward if one hesitates to expose one's life in the service of one's sovereign, one's country, one's principles, or to come to the help of one's neighbor in case of need; but it is not cowardice if a man refuses to expose his own life and that of his fellow uselessly, for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the duel neither dispenses justice nor does it restore honor unless blind chance aids it. It is an abdication of one's rights to honorable reparation if the offended party relegates the duty of settling the affair to chance; there can, therefore, be no question of cowardice if good sense is opposed to this absurdity.

But it is not enough to persuade people of a truth of which many among them are really convinced in their hearts. We must furnish them with the means of voting against a prejudice of which fashion has made a law, and which could not have held out till our days but for the cowardice of a great number of people who, mutually fearing one another, dared not show that they could have an idea which had not been originated in the great mill called public opinion. The way to give them this courage is to try to get them together under the same flag. To do this, we send out our circulars to persons of intelligence and of independent judgment, asking them to join the manifestation against one of the most absurd and barbarous customs. These signatures cannot fail to attract a number of others in their train, and they will go on increasing; for, the larger the company of which one sees oneself a member, the less one fears to be compromised by derogating from what one formerly thought an indispensable adjunct to the spirit of chivalry. Poor spirit of chivalry, so often trodden under foot by the friends of duelling, who fear that obedience to the laws of chivalry may draw disagreeable consequences upon them, and who, in order to avoid a duel, often carry prudence to a debasing degree! If the person offended could exact any other sort of reparation, he would be more ready to set right abominable calumnies on his best friends, insults that now he pockets silently because it is too risky to show that he doubts the veracity of the traducer.

The second means by which we propose to prevent so many cruel and ineffectual sacrifices offered to a vain illusion of honor —sacrifices involving useless immolation of precious lives, sacrifices in whose name many families have been delivered up to misfortune and grief—is to obtain really efficacious laws to save people from insult and to give satisfaction to wounded honor, and to form tribunals of honor approved by the Governments.

In Austria the work has been going on actively. At the end of May, 1901, I requested some gentlemen of Vienna to start the movement. In July of the same year they were courageous

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enough to sign an appeal, to which only twelve names were appended. This appeal was at once put into circulation by private means, and by December, 1901, 330 signatures had been collected in Austria, most of them being the names of highly placed and influential personages belonging to different religious and political parties and to all the nationalities of the country. The appeal, with the 330 signatures, was published on December 6th, 1901. Since that time, the number of adherents in Austria has increased to 1,500, of whom 375 are members of the nobility. In the course of last winter, a central committee was formed in Vienna, made up of gentlemen of different nationalities and of varying political opinions. Experts in legal matters have drawn up laws for the forming of tribunals of honor, for the organization of the Austrian branch of the Anti-Duelling League and the projects for reforms of laws for the defense of honor. This will be of the greatest service to us in our work, and we hope to be able to publish these documents before the end of the summer. The number of adherents will then increase tremendously. Already, all the Austrian press is on our side.

In France our League has made great progress this spring. I heard lately from Mr. Joseph du Bourg, whom I placed in charge of the movement in France, that, though the number of signed adherents is rather small, still he considered that the movement was accepted in his country because public opinion is now with us. It is a fact that the man who refuses to fight a duel for a good reason is no longer disqualified as a man of honor in the eyes of society, as he would have been in the past. The press is also favorable. Then one incident in France has done us a great deal of good. This was the refusal to fight a duel by Lieutenant-Colonel the Marquis d'Elbée, who was challenged by the Marquis de Chauvelin. Of immense importance also was an article in favor of our League which was published in Paris on March 13th of this year by M. Paul de Cassagnac, who was formerly a well-known duellist. Finally, our first tribunal of honor was formed this spring in Paris. It is composed of fourteen members, among whom are six officers (Generals, Admirals, Colonels and M. de Cassagnac), and whose opinion is that duelling is to be done away with entirely. In the provinces of France also tribunals of honor have been formed and have already been appealed to to settle some cases.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Germany, the anti-duellist movement has progressed considerably under the clever, wise and active direction of the Prince of Löwenstein. Here the number of members is very large, and in fact the whole country is interested in the matter—all religions, all classes of society, members of the nobility, soldiers and civilians, professors, students, etc. A paper is shortly to be brought out there—the "Anti-Duelling League Review"—which will inform its supporters of the progress of the work. Pamphlets are appearing daily in Germany advocating the movement. The press there is also very favorable to us.

I asked the Marquis Crispolti to initiate the movement in Italy. Preparatory steps have been taken for the purpose, and we hope to have some results to report during the summer.

I have had a pleasant surprise with regard to Spain. I read in "*El Pays,*" a republican newspaper of Madrid, that the Republican Fusion party at Valencia passed a resolution on February 14th, condemning the duel as contrary to advanced ideas of progress and civilization, forbidding the Fusionist Republicans to take part in duels, and decreeing that any one disobeying this injunction should be turned out of the party. They hope that the other republicans of Spain will follow their example.

In Russia all that I can do for the moment is to get the press there to chronicle what is going on in our work in the rest of Europe. Interest is expressed, and I am in hope of some results later on.

I am much pleased with the success I have obtained in Europe this first year, and I have not the slightest doubt as to the final happy results of our movement. The question cannot be settled in a year or two. We must persist in our efforts for several years and wait until public opinion is entirely on our side. This is what I work for and I am sure that I shall succeed.

ALFONSO DE BOURBON ET AUTRICHE-ESTE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

STATE PROTECTION FOR OCEAN TRAVELLERS.

BY REAR-ADMIRAL GEO. W. MELVILLE, ENGINEER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY.

SINCE the advent of the present year, two events have occurred which have made it clear that those who go down to sea in ships are still exposed to danger. The disappearance of the British gunboat "Condor" and the disablement of the Cunard steamship "Etruria," prove that, despite the skill of commander and crew, accidents are likely to happen to ocean-going vessels which will imperil the safety of ships and passengers. Both these ships had single screws, and an irreparable injury to the propelling engines of either would put her at the mercy of an angry sea.

Very few steamships now carry sail. The competition between ocean-going steamers for passengers and cargo is so keen, that it would not be commercially profitable for steamships to carry the top-hamper and extra men that would be necessary for the management and handling of sail. The warship has also dispensed with masts and spars, because the fighting vessel is now regarded as a simple gun-platform, and any attempt to use sail would interfere with the working of the guns and the securing of a rapid ammunition supply.

In the days of sail a ship was rarely disabled to an extent that would prevent her from eventually reaching port. It was seldom that there happened a worse casualty than the ripping out of a mast, and severe as was the damage that might be caused by such an accident, the ship could still possess sufficient sail area to steer handily.

When steam was first used on ships as motive power, it was only intended that the machinery should be used when going in and out of port, when crossing calm belts, or when great dispatch was necessary. The possession of both sail and steam in-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

volved a cross security which made it rare for a vessel to be lost at sea. In the early days of steam navigation, the machinery was made very heavy. The designer gave a large factor of safety to every working part, so that there was little liability of permanent breakdown. It was said that, with the exception of the cylinders, nearly every portion of the early marine engines could have been built by a blacksmith or boiler-maker; but substantial structures were required when blacksmiths and boiler-makers were sometimes assigned to their care and management.

It was not long before it was discovered that the use of sail on board a steamer was incompatible with the earning of fair dividends. Gradually, therefore, the sail area was lessened and the steam installation increased; but while this development gave more money to the owner of the vessel, it afforded less security to the passengers and the crew.

The passing away of the ships of oak with their clouds of snowy canvas, to make way for vessels of steel with their throbbing engines, gave a wonderful impetus to the shipping industry. Remote islands and hermit nations were brought into closer touch with the manufacturing and maritime countries of the world. As time became an important factor in the delivery of ocean cargoes, there came urgent demand for faster ships. Not only was there a desire for a marked increase in speed, but there was also a call for greater steaming radius upon the part of the vessel. The competition between different corporations for the carrying trade of the world made it compulsory that ships making long voyages should frequently put into port to replenish coal bunkers. It was inevitable, therefore, that marine machinery should be made to work more economically, and that it should be built much lighter. With this progression, there was a corresponding advance in the skill, intelligence, and character of the engineer's force.

Competent as the complement in the engine and fire-rooms might become, and skilled as the supervision might grow, the fact was ever kept before the mind of the engine-designer that every ton of machinery was dead weight, and that every pound saved in this respect permitted the carrying of another pound of cargo.

The weight of machinery allowed in proportion to the horse-power developed has been rapidly decreasing, and this accounts for the great number of accidents that are happening at sea. Al-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

though there has been steady improvement in the strength and uniformity of the material that enters into the construction of marine machinery, every advance in this direction only encourages the engine-designer to reduce the factor of safety and thus lighten the weight of the machinery parts. The degree to which machinery weights have been decreased could not be more impressively illustrated than by stating that the horse-power developed in a modern torpedo boat of 150 tons trial displacement exceeds the horse-power that was required for a 3,000-ton Cunarder thirty years ago. The piston speed of engines has been doubled and, in some cases, nearly trebled; and it need not be surprising if the breaking of a shaft or the cracking of an engine-frame occasionally happens.

On board the tramp or cargo-carrying steamer the reduction in machinery weight has not been carried to such an extreme, and the reliability of this type of machinery is much greater than that of the passenger ship. These boats seldom carry passengers, and as they need not run on schedule time their engines are seldom forced.

The point has now been reached when the State should give better protection to ocean-going passengers, and the most effective way of securing this reform is to prohibit any single-screw steamer from being regarded as a subsidy mail-boat. It is rather surprising that ocean-going passengers will consent at this late day to travel on board a steamer that is fitted with a single screw. It is more surprising still that there is afloat a private yacht installed with a single-screw propelling engine. It would seem that people who are able to expend $100,000, and in some cases several hundred thousand dollars, on a yacht that is in commission only a few months each year, would see the imperative necessity of increasing her means of safety by fitting a duplicate pair of engines for propelling purposes.

Public sentiment should now be as well educated upon the necessity of a sea-going steamer's possessing twin-screw engines as upon the necessity of a modern railroad's having a double track. There is hardly a village in this country that will now give a franchise to an electric road for the use of the streets without imposing the condition that there shall be sidings sufficient to prevent collisions and accidents. This shows how jealously guarded is the safety of passengers on land.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Like care should be exercised by the State in providing for the safety of those who travel by sea. The loss of comparatively few lives in the Park Avenue tunnel in the City of New York, caused State and municipal authorities to carry on separate and extended investigations as to the character and completeness of the appliances used in that tunnel for the protection of life. As a result of that single accident, it is exceedingly probable that the company owning the tunnel will eventually be compelled to spend millions of dollars in providing greater security for their patrons. The loss of an ocean liner, from unnecessary weakness in construction, may bring the matter of protection at sea very vividly to the public mind, but it is to be hoped that remedial measures will be provided by law before a catastrophe compels the enactment of such legislation.

The ocean passenger companies owe it to the public to give to their patrons all possible protection. The State does much for commerce. A subsidy is given to many ocean steamers. The coast trade is reserved for the vessels flying our flag. The ships and men both of the Navy and the Revenue Marine are at immediate call to aid and protect the merchant vessels. At the public expense, ocean surveys are made, harbors dredged and obstructions to navigation cleared. It is within the direct province and duty of the State, therefore, to regulate the manner in which passenger vessels shall be operated. If it is the prerogative of the State to protect ocean-going passengers from buccaneers and pirates, it is likewise the duty of the commonwealth to prohibit its citizens being carried in vessels which are not up to date in design, and which are not fitted with life-saving devices.

The Congress had no hesitation in compelling railroad corporations to install air-brakes and standard couplers. The same impelling reasons should force steamship companies to build passenger vessels which will have an inner and outer hull, and which will have at least two sets of propelling engines.

The building of twin-screw engines was the sequence of reducing sail on ocean-going steamers. As the sailing vessels carried spare sails and spars, it was necessary to devise some expedient for making the steamer as safe as the old-time clipper.

The advantages resulting from having practically two installations of motive power were very great. Increased security was given to passengers and crew. The commander was enabled to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

handle his vessel in a manner that could not be done previously. Economy in the consumption of coal was obtained. Structural benefits were also secured, for the engine parts could not only be made interchangeable but lighter, and repairs could be effected much more quickly. There were two disadvantages of such installation—increased first cost, and additional expense in management and maintenance; and it is to save less than fifteen per cent. in the first cost of machinery, and two per cent. in the cost of management and maintenance, that thousands of single-screw steamers are kept plying on the ocean highway.

The cost of installing twin-screw engines need not be much greater than the cost of a single screw of the same power. With twin screws the parts are smaller, and they can be handled, assembled, and fitted more economically. The cost of modern marine-engine forgings increases in rapid progression with size, and the saving that would be effected in this direction would be very large. Several years ago the Union Iron Works, of San Francisco, volunteered to install in a gunboat of the navy, without extra cost, a set of twin-screw engines instead of the single screw that had been arranged for the ship. Other instances could be given where reliable ship-building firms, under special conditions, have offered to install twin screws at a slight cost above that demanded for single screws.

With the installation of twin-screw engines the insurance of ship and cargo would cost less. Additional earnings would also be secured; for, if ocean-travelling were made safer, people would be willing to make a sea-trip who could not now be persuaded to embark on an ocean liner. The increase in revenue from carrying additional passengers would soon make up for any increased first cost of installation of motive power, as well as for the higher cost of maintenance. Self-interest should cause steamship owners to build twin-screw vessels, even if the demands of humanity should not prompt such form of maritime construction. When a corporation should act and will not act, then is the time for the State to intervene.

It is surprising that the single-screw steamer is still a paying investment. Hundreds of thousands of persons travel every year on the ocean, and it would seem as if every one of these passengers should be an active personal force in discouraging travel by such conveyance. Several years ago, a distinguished ex-Secretary

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the Navy told me that on one of his trips, just after starting from New York for Liverpool, he found that he was on board a single-screw vessel. As executive head of the Navy Department, the subject of twin screws had been officially acted upon by him, and he had become convinced that no warship of any size should be fitted with a single propeller. Holding such positive views on this question, and finding himself on board a single-screw steamer, while all his friends had taken passage in ships fitted with twin screws, he was, naturally, exceedingly uncomfortable. The thought suggested itself that through carelessness he was travelling in a dangerous ship, and that it was like voluntarily journeying on a railroad whose equipment contained no safety devices and whose rolling stock was out of date. The feeling of insecurity so preyed upon his mind, that upon reaching port he not only found himself in an exceedingly nervous state, but it was evident also that he had secured no benefit from the sea trip. He could not rid himself of his depression until he had cancelled his return passage in the single-screw ship, and secured for the homeward voyage a state-room on a twin-screw steamer.

Hundreds of instances could be cited where single-screw ships have had the misfortune to break their shafts, lose their propellers or suffer other casualties which have rendered them helpless, but which would have only delayed the twin-screw steamer. The experience of the "Umbria," a sister ship to the "Etruria," may be recalled. This vessel left Liverpool for New York in December, 1892, with 380 passengers on board. She encountered continuous bad weather for nearly a week, and when near the Newfoundland coast her propeller shaft broke. She was picked up by a passing steamer, which attempted to tow her. The sea was too heavy for this undertaking, however, and the attempt had to be abandoned. From the time of the accident to the vessel, her Chief Engineer realized that the "Umbria" could only be saved by making a temporary repair which would enable the ship to be moved by her own propelling engines. Through skill, almost bordering on genius, and by executive leadership of rare ability, the propeller shaft was repaired so efficiently that the vessel was able to resume her voyage, and, to the delight of millions of people in England and America, the ship reached New York under her own steam. The work of Chief-Engineer Tomlinson, of the "Umbria," was deserving of royal recognition.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All sailors can tell tragic and yet inspiring tales of the sinking of single-screw steamers, whose loss might have been averted if the ship had been fitted with twin-screw engines. About seven years ago, the German gunboat "Iltis" was lost in a typhoon off the China coast. The ship was bravely weathering the hurricane until she lost her propeller. Although crew and officers realized that the end was near, there was no fear in their hearts. Huddling together on deck, they raised aloft the flag of Germany to the topmast, and then they tried to drown the mad requiem of the tempest by cheering for Kaiser, for Home and for Country. Even as the wild waves were overpowering the brave sailors of the Fatherland, the last remnant of the heroic band were seen clasping hands, and were heard singing, even in the jaws of death, that greatest of battle hymns—Luther's "*Ein Feste Burg.*" It may be that every nation requires some men to glory their apostleship in such manner, so that future generations in recalling their deeds may be incited to make like sacrifices for the honor and advancement of the flag. But after such sacrifice has been made by some, it is the duty of the State to take good care that all others who go down to the sea in ships shall go on board vessels whose design and construction are in accordance with existing needs.

There should also be a stringent national statute compelling ship owners to provide an adequate and efficient complement of men and officers, both on deck and in the engine rooms of every sea-going passenger ship, for safely operating the vessel. No officer or member of the crew should be permitted to stand watch over eight hours a day on board any sea-going vessel. In addition to his regular watch duty, practically every man on board ship will be called upon for extra duty, for, when getting under way, coming to anchor, in times of rough weather, and when casualties occur, all hands are called to their posts.

There would be less going to sea upon the part of commercial travellers, tourists, and the general public if they only knew of the physical condition of officers and men upon particular occasions. When men are under physical and mental strain for a protracted period it should not excite surprise that at times it requires the exercise of high moral courage and strong will power to continue on duty. Only a few years ago, from sheer exhaustion, one of the pilots of a ferry-boat plying between Brooklyn and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New York fell asleep at his post, after having been continuously at the wheel for over eighteen hours. As a result, there was a collision with another ferry-boat and hundreds of lives were placed in peril. This sleeping on post upon the part of sea-going men, due to overwork, is a much more common occurrence than is realized.

Not only should every sea-going steamer be installed with at least two screws, but the vessel should be required to possess an inner and an outer hull, so that, if either structure should be ruptured, the vessel could still proceed on her way. The appalling loss of life caused by the sinking of the "City of Rio de Janeiro" could have been prevented if that vessel had been built on the cellular system. She had crossed the Pacific, she had heard the fog-horns of the Golden Gate, and while groping in the mist for the entrance to the harbor of San Francisco, she struck a rock and sank within a few minutes. The financial loss alone resulting from the sinking of that ship was sufficient to have fitted double bottoms to every vessel of the line to which she belonged.

It is not only the outer hull which is likely to be ruptured, from striking a reef or from collision, but even the inner hull may be seriously rent from various causes. The fact will not be forgotten that, when the collapse of one of the twin-screw engines of the "City of Paris" took place, some of the reciprocating parts of the disabled engine tore a hole in both the outer and inner bottoms. The ship reached port by reason of the fact that her cellular system of construction prevented the other engine compartment from being filled with water. The "Oregon"—the "Constitution" of the present generation—would now be a wreck near Shantung promontory on the China coast, if it were not for the fact that she had an inner as well as an outer hull. The saving of that historic ship to the service by reason of the fact that she had double bottoms, will pay for all the inner hulls that the American Navy will require for the next ten years.

The maritime laws of all countries should prohibit any steamers which did not carry an adequate complement of trained men, which did not possess an installation of twin-screws, and which was not constructed with double bottoms from regularly carrying passengers. These three requisites are necessary for efficiency as well as security—the inner hull is a complement of the second propelling engine, and the providing of an adequate complement

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is but simply the enactment of a just law preventing employers from overworking their help.

Those who have reason for crossing the Atlantic in five days are willing to pay for increased security, and it would be a good investment for future "greyhounds" to be fitted with three sets of propelling machinery. Thousands of persons in this country do not consider it an extravagance to travel in a special car. Tens of thousands of people use the Pullman day-coaches even for short journeys. Such a class of patrons should insist that all passenger steamers, whose motive power was over 20,000 horse-power, should have triple screws installed. Ship-owners may object to the additional first cost of such installation, as some now object to the extra cost for the installation of twin screws. But the class of tourists who travel in such boats would cheerfully recognize the fact that increased protection was worth paying for. Such an installation of motive power would also increase the chances of the vessels running upon schedule time.

The average ocean tourist is of the belief that there is very little danger attending a journey on an ocean greyhound. The cost of a suite of desirable state-rooms is increasing very rapidly, and increased protection should go with this higher tariff. But with the rivalry existing between the steamers of different nations, there comes a demand for increased installation of motive power. There is one problem to be solved in designing these twin-screw ships which is of great importance to the engineer, but which is of greater consequence to the patrons of the principal "liners." If twin-screw engines are to be insisted upon for the largest of the Atlantic steamers, then accidents to the shaft may be anticipated. It has even been suggested that a shaft should be designed strong enough to convey twenty thousand horse-power to the propellers. The draught of the ship must necessarily limit the size of the propellers, and therefore to transmit such power as that of 20,000 horses, an excessive pitch must be given to the blades. If the pitch of the propeller is increased, the flattening of the surface of the blades is likely to follow, and the final resultant is a broken shaft or impaired propeller blades. Security in respect to propeller shafts of very high-powered steamers can only be obtained by triple-screw engines, in which the power is distributed so as not to subject any one shaft to excessive strain.

It may be incidentally stated that the triple screw is no novelty

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in naval construction. It is in use in foreign navies, as well as in our own; for Russia, France, Germany, and the United States have war vessels fitted in such manner. France has ten battleships and nineteen cruisers of this type. In the case of Germany, the decision has been practically reached, after competitive trial of the twin and triple-screw systems, to adopt the triple-screw design exclusively in all future warships of the home fleet.

As the primary purpose of the writer is to demand the installation of twin screws and double bottoms on board every seagoing passenger steamer, it will only be possible to refer briefly to the essential reasons for installing triple-screw machinery in ships of very large power.

First, there would be economic advantages, since it would only be necessary to use the amount of power required for conditions existing. There would be times when it would only be necessary to move the ship very slowly, and then the single screw could efficiently do the work.

In addition to the economic advantages, there are structural reasons why the system should be adopted. The engines can be made lighter, cheaper, and simpler. The subdivision of watertight compartments can be more effectively secured. The propeller need not extend so far beyond the lines of the hull, and therefore would be less liable to disablement from ramming as well as from floating obstructions. Shorter length of shafting could be used as well as smaller engine parts. Triple screws permit the installation of additional auxiliaries, and, as the auxiliaries are the weak links in a modern high-powered ship, the installation of additional ones might be of great advantage. It is but fair to say that there are structural disadvantages due to the additional number of parts required, as well as to the intricacy of piping; but the structural advantages far exceed the disadvantages.

In addition to the economical and structural reasons for installing triple screws, there are tactical advantages to be secured. When the German Admiralty began giving consideration to this subject, her experts did not look for other than economical and structural advantages. It was believed that investigation would show that tactical reasons would prevent the further use of triple screws in German warships. With the fairness and thoroughness that characterize German research, extended experiments were

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

planned for the determination of this question. Vessels of exactly the same hull design were pitted against each other. It was found that the ships fitted with triple screws steered best, and that the art of steering was more easily acquired by the sailors, as, unlike vessels carrying single or double screws, the ships took no rank sheer.

During the past winter the value of triple-screw ships was shown by the wonderful ease and accuracy with which the battleship "Kaiser Wilhelm II." was steered through the Kaiser Wilhelm Canal. The performance of the battleship astonished the naval chief of the Emperor's staff. In going through the narrow curved channel it was necessary for the battleship to go at slow speed, and yet it was essential that the rudder should respond very promptly to the touch of the helmsman. Both of these results were obtained by going ahead at a speed of five knots with the middle screw, and backing equally with both side screws at a three-knot pace. A net speed of but two knots was secured. Since the middle screw was moving at a five-knot speed, the water was thrown against the rudder with sufficient velocity to make the work easy for the helmsman.

The distribution of power by triple screws in very large-powered ships is simply keeping pace with progressive naval construction. The patrons of the ocean greyhounds can be depended upon to give preference to vessels fitted with machinery of this type, for in doing so they would soon bring about an installation of motive power that would increase the safety and reliability of the large-powered ships.

It is a matter of experience that the best-paying railroads are those which keep even in advance of the demands of their patrons. And so would it be in the case of ocean steamships, if life-saving devices were employed before the law compelled their adoption. Every installation or change, which had for its primary purpose the increased protection of the passenger, would command the approval of the travelling public. The ocean liner which would make triple-screw installation its cardinal feature, would reduce to a minimum the chances of its ever becoming helpless. Once let it be known how safe and reliable is such an installation, and the best-paying ocean passengers would not be content to travel on any other type of steamer.

GEO. W. MELVILLE.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE OUTLOOK IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE LEONARD COURTNEY, M. P.

DURING the earlier stages of the South African war, I was more than once asked to contribute to the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW some remarks on this or that aspect of the changing contest, but I turned away from all such proposals. This REVIEW has become in some degree an organ of international opinion, especially as a means of intercommunion between the English-speaking nations. Yet I felt as an Englishman that anything I had to say about the war in South Africa must be addressed to my own countrymen. There was, indeed, small encouragement to speak at home, so completely was every word doomed to be misread in the passion and excitement of the time; but among ourselves the necessity of speech could not be always evaded, and the risk of misinterpretation had to be faced. There was no similar duty elsewhere, whilst anything that could be construed as an appeal against one's countrymen to outside judgment was sure to engender the bitterest resentment. Now that the war has come to an end and the air is cooler, it seems possible to yield to the renewed application without danger of doing mischief, and even with some chance of doing good.

The war has come to an end. Terms of peace have been agreed upon. Articles of capitulation have been signed. The Boers and their friends remaining in the field have come in and given up their arms in numbers that must now be practically exhaustive of their forces—numbers, indeed, far exceeding all official estimates of what remained with them. There is much evidence of good temper shown during these surrenders and of hearty manifestations of friendly feeling among those so recently arrayed against one another in a deadly struggle. It must, indeed, be remarked that some of this evidence comes at second-hand, and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that more of it consists of impressions carried away by onlookers who must naturally be drawn to dwell upon the cheerfulness of the new situation. All our news, moreover, has been transmitted under the limitations of a censorship which may have suppressed some of the less pleasant incidents of the real transaction. There have been hints, which the feeblest imagination can develop, of the grim bearing of the surrendered Boers towards those of their own countrymen who have been lately fighting as scouts in the British army; and every reasonable person must know that a genuine ebullition of good feeling on the termination of a war cannot permanently efface the bitter memories of what has been.

All allowances, however, being made for official optimism, for the improvement of what is pleasant and the mitigation of what is unpleasant, there remains solid, substantial evidence of a temper on both sides beyond praise. We have the *ipsissima verba* of Boer leaders and of British commanders—the words of Lord Kitchener, of Generals Bruce Hamilton and French remain in the memory as right things well said. The advice of Sir John French to remember the great difficulties of the situation of those who became rebels deserves to be especially commended. On the other hand, the brave and dignified demeanor of those who were our starkest opponents, the farewell address of acting-President Schalk Burger and General Botha, and the speeches of General Delarey and of De Wet—to name no more—have given us a striking exhibition of men crowned with honor whilst submitting to inevitable defeat. Over and over again during the progress of the war the thought arose, What men these are to have as friends and allies instead of as foes! The conduct of the surrendered burghers since the conclusion of peace must have begotten a stronger desire than ever to make them brothers—a resolution that nothing should be wanting on our part to weld them, if it be possible, into a common citizenship.

The first and last thing to be said about the future of South Africa is, that everything depends upon the temper we bring towards its settlement. The largest generosity, not merely of money but of spirit, the strongest sympathy, an instant desire to go beyond the prudence of nicely calculated safeguards, are necessary if the problem is to be solved as we desire. We may usefully remember that this is not the first time the Transvaal has been annexed. In 1877 it was *de facto* re-incorporated in the British

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Dominions without a shot having been fired. Large declarations were made as to the good and free government under which the South-African Republic was to be reorganized. I do not wish to go over the stages of this sad history, still less to indulge in vain speculations as to what might have been. It is probably true that what did happen could not have been prevented from happening. Yet, we cannot dismiss as absolutely unreal the suggestion that, had the administration of the Transvaal been conducted by us in a more sympathetic spirit, there would have been no rising of discontented burghers to revindicate their independence, no Majuba and no memories of Majuba. Many now join in declaring that Sir W. Owen Lanyon must be condemned for having, by his want of tact and temper, provoked the revival of the Boer spirit of independence which ended in a resort to arms. I confess I regard this judgment as quite unjust. Sir W. Owen Lanyon was not the right man in the right place, but he did not create the policy he administered. He was in authority only during the latter half of the period of our holding the Transvaal, and if his military manners irritated the burghers, they were not different from what must be expected from an ordinary military administrator, whilst the continued postponement of the re-establishment of autonomous institutions can in no way be ascribed to him. In facing the work of to-day, we must not think that all will be well if we choose a different agent. We must be born again ourselves. Unless the most eager spirit of reconciliation be manifested from the top downwards, and the strictest search be made for men of large and generous sympathies to inaugurate the new experiment, it will fail in developing any feeling of common citizenship, if it does not end in a repetition of the miserable experience of the former time.

In this connection, I may well recall, in the pages of the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, the experiences of the years immediately following the Civil War. Mr. Andrew Johnson was called to the office of President, which no one had ever thought of his filling, and he speedily manifested a policy of restoration in the South which provoked the strongest condemnation. He was not a brilliant man, and his installation in office was marked by incidents which gave no promise of prudence in the future, and he went on his way in a temper which almost all thought reckless and many disloyal. The question was asked then, as it might be asked now,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Have thousands of millions of dollars been spent and tens of thousands of lives lost, that things might be put back as they were before?" Mr. Johnson was in fact impeached, and the impeachment would have been successful had not one Republican Senator, who survives to be thanked for his action (Mr. Hoar of Massachusetts), voted against condemnation. Yet it is now universally admitted, if I am not in error, that Mr. Johnson was right and the men who denounced him were wrong. If the memories of the war have been effaced and the Union exists with a more active feeling of unity than it had during the generation preceding 1861, these results are in no small measure due to Andrew Johnson's unpolished rashness.

No guarantee can indeed be given of a similar success to-day. The utmost I would venture to say is that in action in the same spirit lies the best, if not the only, hope of success. The Southern States and the Northern had had a great history together. They shared in the traditions and the glory of the Revolutionary War. They looked back with equal pride to the Fathers and Founders of their national institutions. None of these circumstances finds a parallel in South Africa. The burghers of the annexed republics have not been, nor were their fathers before them, ever caught up and carried forward in the life and growth of the British Empire. Taken over as subjects during the Napoleonic struggle without any consultation of their wishes, they were by the confession of all men neglected and misruled, till they went forth into the wilderness to make homes for themselves, since which time they have lived apart, whether in peace or war, save in the brief interval of the annexation of the Transvaal, when no community of citizenship was established. With such a prelude in the past, and with the memories of the war now just concluded, the immediate prospect cannot be thought promising.

Yet there is something, there is even much, to be said on the other side. Tardy as the gift of self-government to the Cape Colony was, it produced results in no stinted measure. Within the frontiers of the Colony Boer and Briton lived and worked together with such differences as farmer and townsman have, but divided by no impassable gulf, and with a common loyalty to a universally beloved Queen. Her portrait was the customary ornament of every farm-house in a manner quite unknown at home.

It must be remembered that the Cape had no foreign policy.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The task of domestic development was sufficient for its inhabitants, and to this they devoted themselves, as to a common purpose. The much-abused Africander Bond was a natural growth of citizenship among dwellers on a common earth. If as first conceived, the idea of independence entered the minds of some members, this was promptly repudiated and discarded, and the Bond grew and flourished as an expression of common local life under an overlordship never questioned, because wisely abstinent of interference. How far removed were any dreams or aspirations of independence from actual conduct may be gathered from the single fact that Mr. Rhodes worked with the Bond, and was supported by the Bond as the Prime Minister of the Colony. Mr. Rhodes himself dreamt, as we now know, of a distant future, when all English-speaking people would form one political community under the ægis of the United States; but this distant dream is not regarded by his warmest admirers as detracting from Mr. Rhodes's reputation as a practical patriot. It is certain that the members of the Africander Bond never followed him so far in their forecast of the future. They had something of the "Know-nothing" feeling about them. They thought as Canadians think when toasting "Canada a Nation." They talked as Australians talk when they cry "Advance Australia." They were, indeed, better than "Know-nothings," as I understand the latter, because they were quite ready to receive and incorporate emigrants who made South Africa their home and were ready to share its fortunes; their first and last feeling being that to which Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave expression when he claimed for Canada the position of mistress in her own home, though daughter in her mother's house. A sturdy spirit of local independence that might easily become narrow in its sympathies was the vitalizing motive of the Africander party in the Cape Colony. A kindred spirit inspired the Boer Republics, and the best—I hesitate to say the only—hope, of keeping South Africa at peace under the sovereignty of the British Crown lies in the recognition and allowance of this spirit of local independence.

True wisdom will be found in admitting this with the utmost fulness and the utmost promptitude. Without overrating the intensity and permanence of the manifestations of good-will which have accompanied restoration of peace, we may still feel that the path of safety is found in the path of courage, in seizing upon the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

readiness to live together authoritatively reported, in forming at once the channels through which it may act, and in giving free play to the forces which, within the limits of South Africa, are, it is not too much to say, bound to work out its future. According to my reading of the past, outside aspirations were rarely cherished among burghers in South Africa. They were home-thinking folk. They wanted to be let alone. The isolation so universally remarked as the chosen condition of every farmer, found its counterpart in political life. Passionately attached as he was to the independence of his republic, Mr. Krüger himself had no world-policy, and the idea embodied in that well-worn phrase would have indeed been most distasteful to him. Dr. Leyds, perhaps, cherished it and so far proved the bane of the community be served.

In Australia and in Canada the people are working out their own futures. The political dependence of each Federation upon the United Kingdom is nominal, though the history of the last two years and a half has proved a life connection very real and forcible. In the elimination of the Imperial factor or, in other words, in the absence of control from Downing Street, has been found the strength of true union. The vital connection of South Africa with the Empire must be kept in the same way—minimize dependence and enlarge the scope of local freedom. To those who may hesitate to work on the lines of this injunction, I may venture to suggest that, whether we like it or not, the future will shape itself after this fashion. How much the Boer likes to have his own way we know, and it requires no reflection to remember that the British emigrant is mastered by the same passion.

Consider what must be anticipated as the natural course of the material development of South Africa! The first important fact is the persistent survival—nay, the increase—of the native, especially of the Zulu. This strong race, far from disappearing before the advancing white, multiplies by his side, and even tends to fill up the land before him. Not naturally an eager or a plodding laborer, he is quite willing to do work on conditions that satisfy his sense of gain, and he is in fact the agricultural and the mining laborer in the land. Next in importance to the pervading presence of the native, is the fact that over the greatest part of South Africa farming is and must remain the one occupation of its inhabitants. The Cape Colony is agricultural. The

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Orange River Colony is equally agricultural. The Transvaal looms in our thoughts as a gold-producing world, but the area of the Rand, and of any probable extension of gold mining, forms after all but a small proportion of the Transvaal. Its other sources of mineral wealth have an importance in connection with gold mining, but apart from it give no large promise of development. Natal, again, is really an agricultural country, though very different in character from the great table-lands of which it may be called the sea-slope. The two facts to which I thus refer have strongly operated to diminish the attractiveness of South Africa to the British emigrant. The shorter passage across the Atlantic has necessarily caused the largest outflow of our population to turn to the American shores; but our emigrants have passed by the Cape to go on to Australia and New Zealand. It need not be insisted upon in these pages that working-men are the most valuable, as they must be the most numerous, of all the elements constituting new communities; and the working-man does not willingly go to a country where a colored and dependent race do the work, unless he is called to a position to supervise and direct them. There is thus next to no scope for agricultural laborers in South Africa, and even mine workers go there as captains and leaders, not as mere laborers. The progress of Natal is a most striking illustration of the unattractiveness of South Africa, since it differs from the inner table-lands in naturally admitting a more varied agriculture and, being mainly a British colony, presents none of the difficulties which confront a British emigrant on entering among the Dutch-speaking people with Dutch habits and Dutch customs. Yet Natal draws few immigrants from the United Kingdom, the total white population numbering only about 65,000, being less than the immigrants from British India who have come as traders as well as farm laborers, and again less than a twelfth part of the Zulu population, which has increased under our rule to an extent provoking some anxiety respecting the future. It may be remembered in passing that the Natal whites themselves are jealous of the Indian immigrants. They have taken effective steps to prevent any further great addition to their numbers. All this goes to show that, except so far as immigrants are drawn to the mining centres of the Rand, we must not expect any movement changing the character of the white population of South Africa.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

There is some vain talk indeed about the settlement of British immigrants in the newly annexed territories; but the most competent observers agree in thinking experiments in this direction unpromising, and a very small proportion of the volunteers who have taken part in the war have shown any disposition to remain as settlers in the country. As South Africa has been Dutch in the past, so it will be in the future. Such agriculture as it has satisfies the ever-multiplying Dutch, and repels the English; and those of the latter who move out of the towns into the country become absorbed in the more abiding race. We need not conclude that there must be opposition and antipathy between the two strains of population. Until recently there was a continuous course of amicable fusion—but it may be taken as certain that a Dutch flavor will be predominant over the greater part of South Africa. If we consider political divisions as they have been, Cape Colony must be mainly Dutch, the Orange River still more Dutch, the Transvaal—apart from the Rand—Dutch, and, apart from mining prospects as yet unrealized, Rhodesia itself has been a field of immigration to Dutch farmers. For two or three years the devastations of war will continue to derange the natural development of the continent; but nature and man soon recover themselves, and we may look forward after a comparatively brief interval to the filling up of the land on lines previously pursued.

A dispassionate forecast of the future enforces the wisdom of the policy, at once courageous and generous, of treating Dutch and English as equals at once, so that a really united South Africa may grow up without delay, without friction and with as little memory of the hateful past as is possible under the new conditions of local freedom.

What is the chance of this fair future of a reconciled South Africa coming to pass? This is a question I should like to avoid answering; for, in truth, I am not sanguine; and yet I do not desire to say any word that could in any way work to prevent its fulfilment. After all deductions made for the too possible exaggerations of passing moods, there is reasonable ground for belief that those who have been lately fighting against annexation might be quietly brought into friendly co-operation in building up South Africa afresh, if they were really taken into co-operation, that is to say, into partnership in this great enterprise. This means something more than allowing them to go back and culti-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

vate their farms in peace—more even than helping them to restore the farmsteads that have been destroyed. So much is indeed necessary and urgent, as the conditions of peace practically admit. But the reconstruction of political society is no less pressing, and if this work is to be successfully carried through, the men who have come out as the real leaders of their countrymen in arms, must be invited to join in it. For some time, arrangements must no doubt be rough and provisional. You cannot have Volksraads, Presidents, and State Councils improvised on the instant. Something of a Grondwet must be attempted, and perhaps the best thing that could be done at once would be to assemble in informal councils the best men in the new colonies to talk over the terms of such a Grondwet. If the representatives of the victors entered upon such councils, not as dictators but as fellow-workers, and with the sense that strong and abiding institutions must follow the lines of old habits and old thoughts, the representatives of the beaten might be fairly expected to meet such advances in a reciprocal spirit; and, out of such a temper and agreement on both sides, the forms of future life might be elaborated. It has often been suggested that the work of resettlement of South Africa would require a mission something like that conducted by Lord Durham previous to the reorganization of Canada. I do not desire to press the parallel, the working out of which might lead into inconvenient detail. It is enough to dwell generally on the temper which must animate any successful agents in this great work. If the Boer consent to abandon independence is to be confirmed, strengthened and made perpetual, it must be met by an equally steady consent of the British to abandon racial predominance. The Boers, according to the testimonies that reach us, are performing their part and the British must be adjured to play up to this opening without reluctance. This is not too much to expect on the part of those who, before the war began, protested that they had no desire to upset the self-government of the Transvaal, and indeed deprecated the possibility of their being charged with the burden of its government; and if the course of the war made annexation in their judgment inevitable, it must also have demonstrated the insuperable difficulties of keeping the peace otherwise than by the method of contented agreement. It is indeed common ground that everything should be done to secure the quiet extinction of racial

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

antagonism; but it is strangely suggested that this end can be best pursued by the suppression, for some indefinite educational period, of representative institutions—even in the Cape Colony.*

In connection with this question I may perhaps be permitted to make a personal reference. The representative machinery which, originating in the British Isles, has been brought into use in all the self-governing communities of the world has long appeared to me grotesquely ill adapted to its proper end, and open especially to the objection that it tends to create opposing parties where no natural division exists, and to exasperate the opposition of parties where parties are naturally found. I admit, therefore, the drawback attendant upon parliamentary government in South Africa; and if it were permissible to recreate it on a new basis, I should gladly welcome the change. Such a reconstruction cannot, however, be forced upon communities in which opinion is not ripe for its reception, and the most imperfect organization of popular government that exists is better than none. As we have no choice we must start from what exists, satisfied that under every obstacle a real spirit of union will make its way, reconciling all divisions one to another. We have a history at hand, if history were any use, to warn us of false tracks. Anything like a second Ireland could not be permanently maintained in South Africa, but those who have heartily supported the late war have concurred with those who opposed it in deprecating even a temporary setting-up of a second Ireland to mark its close. Have we now to fear that the plea of necessity may be put forward for doing that which had been deprecated in advance? Are we to begin reconstruction by government supported by an English garrison? I refuse to believe in this outcome, though I wish the question could be answered with more certainty in the negative. Once begin that way, and the prospect is despairing. But those at home whose judgment must decide this issue are surely conscious of the dangers of this future, and therefore I look, I wait—dare I add, I hope?—for better things.

LEONARD COURTNEY.

* *Postscript. July 7th.*—Since the foregoing was written, the despatch of the Colonial Secretary has been published, refusing, on the part of the Home Government, the suspension of the Cape Constitution, unless indeed it was asked for by a vote of the Cape Legislature, or forced upon them by the failure of that Legislature to do necessary work.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY THE HON. ALFRED LYTTELTON.

THE war in South Africa is over, and peace has been concluded on terms touched by the spirit of that chivalry in which, to the undying honor of the two belligerents, hostilities were conducted. The greatest administrative task of a hundred years now confronts the conqueror.

His Majesty the King, Lord Milner, his illustrious representative in South Africa, Lord Kitchener and the Generals of that army who by their sacrifices have title paramount to fashion and mould our tone, have set us a noble example in the thought and language of conciliation. Let us, therefore, before approaching the practical problems of the day, dwell for a moment on the affinities between the Dutch and the British races.

Though both races have a commercial character, the best characteristics of both nations have been largely influenced by agricultural and sea-faring pursuits. The Boer farmer and the English agricultural laborer, when for a time under military discipline, soon fraternized; if heredity has anything in it, the descendants of De Ruyter and Van Tromp ought to have some sympathies ready made with the descendants of Drake and Frobisher. It can do us no harm, at this time, to remember also that the love of religious and political freedom induced men of the same race as the Boers to turn their country, a marvel of human industry, into one vast lake, from which cities with their steeples and towers rose like islands, and that the hero who inspired that colossal sacrifice was our ally and afterwards our king.

It is not merely in Europe that the Dutch and British races have found spheres of harmonious action. New York was once New Amsterdam; the Dutch who inhabited it were, after a fierce contest, absorbed by the American branch of our race; and the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

names of Stuyvesant and Vanderbilt, and the illustrious association which gathers round the name of Roosevelt, attest the consolidating power of time and the worth and varied strength of a blended race.

It is not to be expected of human nature that the loss of their independence can be borne for a time, at any rate, by the Boers without grief; but, although national independence has too many glorious associations to make its loss other than grievous, some consolations may, at any rate, be legitimately drawn from reflection on that Empire into which the new territories are to be gathered. The ideal of a South Africa united under the British flag is higher than that of a South Africa split into independent nationalities, governed under contradictory systems and armed against each other; and if the success of the British cause in South Africa has destroyed the independence of a small nationality, we may trust that it will be, at the same time, "a triumph for all time of those principles which Imperial Britain represents, that larger freedom, that higher justice, beneath whose sovereign sway the trader of every land may uncord his bales on all her shores, unhindered, the devout of every race pray to God in his own accents unafraid." Personal liberty, religious toleration and the free expansion of the individual are not always safeguarded by national independence. Turkey, China, Russia may have their merits, but those countries are not the homes of liberty. Every lover of liberty should, therefore, determine that the loss to the Boers of national independence should, as far as possible, be compensated by the institution and maintenance of a government truly worthy of the best Imperial traditions, under whose rule races of different history, aspiration, language, temperament and color may, in South Africa as elsewhere, combine to enrich and expand their common country.

That this ideal is not visionary or vaunting we may point as a proof to the work achieved by Lord Milner and his associates in the conquered provinces, while they were yet burdened with the enormous difficulties and responsibilities of a state of war. The law affecting the natives of the Transvaal has been already stripped of the harsh and terrifying characteristics which, perhaps naturally, had been evolved in the Transvaal out of the sanguinary contests between the Boer and Kaffir. The opportunities of oppression open to those who sought cheap labor and rapid

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fortunes by means of which natives, ignorant of the nature of the bargains they were making, were aggrieved, have been removed, and Government officials, with no pecuniary interest at stake, now explain to the native miners the nature of the labor contract, and ensure that it shall be voluntarily undertaken. The contract once made, another class of officials, Government inspectors of natives, provide a system of supervision that gives both to the native and to his employer an easy means of redress for breaches of contract. Again, more valuable than all, the illicit drink traffic with natives has been put down with salutary ruthlessness.

A wonderful start has also been made in a work presenting if possible greater difficulties. To the genuine delight of their parents, while the war was yet raging, a larger number of Dutch children enjoyed elementary education than ever before in the two provinces. Dutch teachers taught to the children their own religious faith, using for this purpose the Taal language, which, though a barbarous tongue in ordinary use, rises in connection with Biblical teaching to a homely and picturesque dignity. After religious conviction had thus been satisfied, the parents of the children saw, with profound satisfaction, lessons given in English by English teachers, in all other branches of elementary education. It should be a source of lasting pride to soldiers that the idea of educating, in the camps, the sons and daughters of the enemy in the field was conceived by Lord Methuen and developed afterwards by Mr. Sargent, the Director of Education, in a spirit finely portrayed in the injunction conveyed by him to the volunteer teachers from Canada, Australia, and the Mother Country at the outset of their work:

> "Seek out then those who know the children of the land and spend many of your hours out of school with them, try to learn something of the Taal, that expressive language of Dutch-Africander population, which measures and describes everything through the experience of farm life, offer to talk of your home occupation, and to read with your comrades the works of English literature that you value most; ask them to lead you to the tents of those among their countrymen from whom you can gain the deepest insight into the Boer character. In a word, go among your fellow-workers as friends and equals and as messengers of peace."

The limits of this article do not permit more than a bare reference to the reform of the gold and patent laws by Sir Richard

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Solomon, to the interesting and important scheme for irrigation of Mr. Wilcox, and to the land settlement plans of Mr. Arnold-Forster, which bear witness to the industry, foresight and sympathy of the new administration.

It will be gathered from the preceding observations that Government, in the conquered provinces, is dealing and has to deal with the intricate problems presented by a modern, commercial, and civilized community, and that the task must necessarily absorb the greater part of an intellect even so powerful and rapid in working as that of Lord Milner.

A real difficulty in the situation is that, in addition to the administration of the intricate commercial life of Johannesburg and the Rand, the needs of a scattered primitive rural population have also to be studied. If it be possible, it would be good that the British representatives should revive that part of Mr. Krüger's system which showed true understanding of the character of the farmers and rural population over whom he exercised such unquestionable sway. His custom was to receive freely at stated times in personal interview those who alleged grievances and sought redress. If a Dutchman, over a pipe of tobacco on the *stoep,* has had, without interruption, his slow say, revolving heavily like one of his own windmills in a lazy breeze, even if he fail to carry his point, his grievance will take a milder hue, and he will recognize the fairness of an adverse decision. These tranquil interviews would unconsciously inoculate active officials with understanding of our grave fellow-subjects and their solitary aspirations.

While things are of good presage generally in the conquered territories, a formidable controversy has arisen in the Cape Colony. A large party, distinguished in its devotion to the cause of loyalty and supported by Lord Milner, advocates the temporary suspension of the Cape constitution. It should, however, be very specially noted that Lord Milner's support to this movement was given before the declaration of peace, and that we have no knowledge whether that important *nouveau fait* has or has not modified his views. It would be wrong to assume that because those views were, as it seems, firmly held before the peace, they have of necessity remained unchanged to the present time. However this may be, the controversy is one which may well be conducted in the spirit of those between Carlyle and Sterling, who, except in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

opinion, did not disagree, for both parties emblazon on their banners peace, truce to racial animosity, avoidance of exasperating topics on exasperating occasions, and both seek, we may assuredly believe, the blending of races without whose concord the future of South Africa must be dark. For myself, I am of opinion that at this moment the weight of the argument against even a temporary suspension of the Cape constitution over-balances those in its favor, but this opinion should not impair the desire or ability to state these arguments with sympathy and fairness and with an entire faith in the patriotism and goodwill of those who advance them.

The case for suspension is advocated by reasoning of which the following is, it is hoped, a fair summary. The primary duty, it is said, of statesmen is to face facts as they really are; their commonest fault is the rehearsal of formulas once vital with truth but now out-worn and irrelevant. Let it be granted that free institutions and representative government are in our empire under normal conditions unquestioned rights. They are misplaced when a country is yet reeling from the shock of racial strife. The cardinal requisites of the country are repose and concord; and for the culture of these blessed fruits a climate is needed from which all frosty asperities shall be banished, and in which all assuaging influences shall be left to expand unhindered. The pacific spirit will mellow if the occasions for strife are withdrawn. The Dutch, as well as the British, desire nothing but a just and firm government, under whose ordered rule material prosperity can revive, and whose temperate, reasonable influence will wither the noisier sections of peevish politicians and windy agitators. What, it is urged, can be more foolish than to embark men who, in their hearts, sincerely wish to let bygones be bygones and to revive peace and goodwill, upon a general election, an occasion which, at all times, and with the most united and lethargic people, begets wrath and violent speech, but which now, in South Africa, would of necessity arouse passionate recriminations between men of different blood and race, who have lately witnessed a war with emotions such as those which consumed the Athenian and Syracuse spectators of the great battle in the Harbor of Syracuse. Our common object, it is said, is the free federation of the provinces of South Africa under the British flag. Suspend the constitution for a time, and not only will you attain this end

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sooner, but you will attain it without rekindling animosity and without making damaging concessions in the Cape Colony which would be wrung from you under the stress of Dutch parliamentary predominance.

No candid mind can fail to see force in this position; no sensible mind can hold, without diffidence, conclusions antagonistic to that formed on the spot by men intimately conversant with the local conditions. Yet the answer to the position sketched above appears convincing. The British Parliament is the only authority by which this *coup d'état* can be sanctioned, and in the British Parliament necessity is the only cause by which such a *coup d'état* can be justified. Now, the arguments in favor of suspension are not the arguments of necessity but of expediency. Probably they are conceived on the hypothesis that tactics are to be expected from the Bond party after, similar to those it employed before and during, the war, and that the peace, which, by its chivalrous terms, has already done so much to assuage the bitterness between the belligerents, is to be reckoned as if it had not taken place when the situation in the Cape Colony is reviewed. This hypothesis does not appear to be well founded; for, putting aside all ideas of gratitude for the generosity with which their kinsmen have been treated, it ought to be remembered that the Cape Dutch have, like all their race, much practical sense, and that the conclusion of the war has after all fundamentally changed the situation. The dream of a greater Holland has vanished, the formidable armies of the northern provinces have been dispersed and disarmed, the millions by which agitation was promoted and the press inflamed are no longer at the command of the late President and the ambitious and unscrupulous Hollanders who incited him to his ruin. Why should the Cape Dutchmen be straightway written down, like the Bourbon, incapable of learning and incapable of forgetting? Such may be his character, but let it be proven to be so before steps are taken which, with the best intenions, will appear to be an invasion of those equal rights for which the war was waged, and which will equip every hostile agitator with arrows from the respectable quivers of Hampden, Pym, Somers and other constitutional worthies of our history. Assuming concord to be the object to be sought by both sides, and the animosity of races to be avoided, why is the agitation on the platform which has already begun in

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Cape Colony to be less irritant than the normal parliamentary election, when all conditions are the same, except that every constitutionalist will have a grievance in addition to those which he considers that he already possessed from the operation of martial law? How strangely compounded must be a Dutchman if he is explosive at an election, exercising his customary rights, but unexplosive on the platform, protesting against uncustomary restrictions.

Lastly, if these views are wrong, it will not be too late to reverse them, if necessity does arise, by the refusal of the Cape Parliament to grant supply or to pass an Act of Indemnity.

Since writing the above, the despatch of Mr. Chamberlain to Sir W. Hely-Hutchinson, has been published, and the decision of the British government definitely pronounced against suspension. It will be noted that:

1. Stress is laid on the fact that the petition to suspend was signed before the termination of hostilities, and before the circumstances attending the close of the war were known;

2. That hope is firmly entertained that the Cape Parliament will not fail in its very evident duty to pass an Act of Indemnity, which will protect those who have administered martial law and those who have levied taxes without Parliamentary authority;

3. The opinion is expressed that to deprive the Cape Colonists, even for a time, of their constitutional rights without giving to the present representatives of the people the opportunity of expressing their opinions on such a great change, is likely rather to produce discontent and agitation than to pacify race hatred;

Finally, in language truly conciliatory, a powerful appeal is made to moderate men of all parties to avoid further strife, and to allay the passions excited by the war and by previous controversy.

It is inevitable, having regard to the strength and authority of opinion adverse to the policy laid down in this despatch, that a feeling of soreness and resentment may at first be excited by it; but it is most earnestly to be hoped that its mandate may be loyally accepted, and that the British spirit of legality will manifest itself, which enjoins cheerful acquiescence, even by those who are unconvinced, in adverse judgments, honestly and deliberately pronounced.

ALFRED LYTTELTON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE HUNT FOR HAMILTON'S MOTHER.

BY GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

To the old friends of Hamilton and to the new ones whom I may be so fortunate as to have made for him, is due the story in detail of my search through the West Indian records for certain important facts connected with his birth and maternal ancestry. Great generosity has been shown in taking the truth of my statements for granted; the few reviewers who have questioned my integrity have been hostile on general principles. And just here I will make the only reply necessary to those of my critics who have grumbled loudly over the disconcerting form of "The Conqueror": that "it is neither a novel nor a biography," that "it is impossible to tell where fiction ends and history begins," that, in short, a book which purports to deal with facts should not be so embellished as to confuse the inquiring mind. Indeed, it shouldn't; and, if I had been writing the first biography of Hamilton instead of the seventh or eighth, my method would have been unpardonable. Those who profess such anxiety to have the truth and nothing but the truth about Alexander Hamilton, have had the successive works of half a century to draw upon. There are the first and second volumes of the "Life," begun by John Church Hamilton, afterward rewritten and continued in the "History of the Republic"—seven very large volumes; Morse's "Alexander Hamilton," in two volumes; Lodge's interesting monograph in the American Statesmen Series; Conant's brief but satisfactory study; and the others of less importance. It seemed to me that the work of the next biographer was, not to do the same old thing in the same old way, but to give the *man;* furthermore, to write a life that would stand a chance of being read. (My humble ambition was to give Hamilton back to the American people.) Of course, this object might have been ac-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

complished by the historical-novel method, but in that form history is invariably sacrificed; and the history of our political genesis is not only as important as any one of the men who made it, but from 1776 to 1800 is indissolubly bound up with Alexander Hamilton. Therefore, in spite of a due appreciation of the conservatism of my kind, I determined to turn from the honored forms of biography and the novel, and to use the form of Life, even those abrupt transitions from grave to gay, from political affairs to social frivolities, so well known to all but novelists and the reviewers of novels; writing, in fact, as if I had stood beside Hamilton throughout his life, discarding only those wearisome details we all turn to books to forget; quieting such apprehensions as may have beset me, with the reflection that those who disapproved could let it alone. To the devil with the old fogies, anyway!

Before I sailed for the West Indies, I was in possession of these alleged facts, stated by J. C. Hamilton and copied without question by the condensers of his voluminous work: that Hamilton's maternal grandfather was a Frenchman named Faucette, who had fled from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and subsequently become a doctor of wealth and consequence on the Island of Nevis, British West Indies; that one of Faucette's daughters had, when very young, been persuaded by her mother to marry a wealthy Dane named Lavine, who ill-treated her; that this daughter had obtained a divorce from Lavine and afterward married James Hamilton, a merchant from Scotland, living on the Island of St. Christopher (now officially known as St. Kitts) British West Indies; that the result of this union was the Alexander Hamilton of our history; that James Hamilton was a failure in business; that Mrs. Hamilton died when Alexander was very young, leaving him to the charity of her sisters, (presumably, from other evidence) Mrs. Peter Lytton, and Mrs. Mitchell, of the Island of St. Croix, Danish West Indies; that the Rev. Hugh Knox, of one of these islands (according to Lodge, the Island was Nevis), had taken an interest in his education, and given him letters of introduction to prominent men in the American colonies; that James Hamilton died on the Island of St. Vincent in the year 1799. There was also the information, doubtless reiterated many times by Hamilton, that his mother was a woman of great beauty, brilliancy, and accomplishments, and that he

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

owed his genius to her. But not a word of her first name—nothing, in short, beyond these meagre statements, except the one incontrovertible fact that Hamilton, while on St. Croix, had worked in the store of Nicolas Cruger. The correspondence preserved proved this; but Hamilton's life until the age of twelve, and his mother's before him, were almost black with mystery.

The State Department gave me a circular letter to our consuls in the West Indies asking them to help me, and my lawyer instructed me as to the best plan of work when I reached the ground. Before leaving, I went to the New York Society of Historical Research, and asked the librarian if his institution had never sent any one to the Islands to find the facts of the birth and ancestry of the most remarkable man in our history. I did not care to go on a fool's errand. He told me that nothing had been done. I had already made up my mind that the Hamilton descendants knew no more than had been given to the public.

I sailed with my friend, Miss Constant Lounsbery, the poet, by the Quebec S. S. line, in February, 1901, and after touching at St. Thomas and St. Croix, landed at St. Kitts. I had intended to begin researches on Nevis; but, learning that the discomforts of living on that once wealthy and famous island were not to be ignored by the most enthusiastic searcher after truth, I abandoned my first intention to land there, and made my headquarters on the neighboring and delightful Island of St. Kitts. The town of Basseterre on this island, is eleven miles from Charles Town on Nevis, although at extreme points the islands are but two miles apart. To-day, Nevis, once the "Mother of the Leeward Caribbees'," is but an annex of St. Kitts, having neither Administrator nor Registrar of her own.

My coming was expected and several of the leading people of the island, besides four clergymen, immediately called, and, with that spontaneous generosity which seems to be a divine gift to isolated regions, offered me their help. They were all interested, but all equally sure that I could accomplish nothing: "others had tried and failed." Finally, I asked, "What others? Who has been here?" "No one has been here, but several have written." My disquiet passed. I have lived sufficiently to know that you have got to do your own work. Deputies may be amiable, but they are lanquid.

"Of course, you know that he is illegitimate," one and all re-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marked. "That is what I have come to prove or disprove. His biographers assert that his mother was divorced, and remarried. John Adams called him the 'bastard brat of a Scotch peddler.' Lodge, in an appendix, gives an extract from the Pickering MSS., which insinuates that he was the natural brother of Edward Stevens of St. Croix—so strong was the resemblance between the two boys, and so many the rumors of the time. The truth must lie somewhere in these records; and I also shall ascertain if there were any divorce laws in the islands in the eighteenth century." But this was not the worst. They usually added: "But — of course—you know—he was colored."

The first time this was flung at me, I will confess I was almost ill. Not to prove a truth of this sort had I undertaken a long and difficult journey. Were it a truth, the journey would be for nothing, for I would not write the biography. I admire Booker Washington, and I wish the colored race all the success that it deserves; but inherited instincts are the strongest in us, and both enthusiasm and imagination would shrivel were I obliged to accept as a fact that Alexander Hamilton had negro blood in him.

But I soon laid the ghost. To-day in the West Indies there is, perhaps, no illegitimate person who is not colored, and for that reason West Indians jump at the conclusion that all illegitimate children are and have been colored. This may not be logical, but it is natural. They do not stop to remember that in the eighteenth century the upper classes of the Islands had the morals of Europe, or that many highly respected members of the fashionable society of their predecessors were living in unmarried loyalty as late as 1850. The report probably had its origin in one of two causes: either some Alexander Hamilton, the son of one of the many Hamiltons of the time, and a slave, distinguished himself locally, and his reputation became confused with that of the famous American; or Hamilton, being known in the United States as a creole, suffered correspondingly in the minds of ignorant people, and the story travelled back to the Islands. If Hamilton had had colored blood in him, he would have had several coal-black descendants before this; such being the freakish law of Nature. But my subsequent discoveries alone would have disproved this cruel story, for his mother's relatives were, one and all, people of consequence, and in that day the negro was a slave and nothing more.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The consul at St. Kitts, Dr. Haven, introduced me to the Registrar, and recommended to me a professional searcher of records. The Registrar, Mr. Latouche, placed the records of St. Kitts and Nevis at my disposal, and I sent my searcher over to the mother island to go through the records for any information concerning the names, Hamilton, Lavine, Faucette, Lytton, Mitchell, and Knox. I would follow him in a day or two.

A sail-boat laden with negroes and cargo plies daily between the two islands. In squalls it turns upside down, for the sails are heavy enough for a boat twice its size. Mr. Outerbridge, the manager of the Quebec line, had given me a letter to his agent, who selected a fine day and chartered the boat for us. In consequence, Miss Lounsbery and I sailed over unattended by negroes or cargo. The boat stood on its beam ends all the way, and there was no place in particular to sit on, but it was cool and stirring and we made no lament. Mr. Greaves, the vice-consul met us, and after some hours I unearthed my searcher. He had discovered nothing, and I sent him back to St. Kitts to go through the records there. The next morning, I went to the Court House and sat down to the records myself. Mr. Greaves, Mr. Mercier, the clerk, and Miss Lounsbery all helped me at times. There being no index to assist me to immediate discoveries, I read page after page of these strange old records, in order to get the social history of the island in the eighteenth century. I never expect to see anything like them again. They were burnt by fire, and yellow and spotted by damp. They smelt like opium and broke at the touch. Most of them had not been opened for nearly a century, and there was danger that, like an old corpse, they would disappear upon contact with the air.

For a time I found nothing that I had come in search of, but I did discover that two-thirds of the great families of the time were named Hamilton; and this fact gives us James Hamilton's reason for coming to the West Indies in search of fortune. Hope in relatives is one of the permanent delusions of the human heart.

Suddenly the clerk uttered an exclamation, and laid before me a fragment on which was written a number of names, the sole remnant of a long-gone index. One of the names was Fawcett.

I immediately took over the volume to which this brittle scrap had clung, and went through it page by page. It was a very big volume and the thermometer stood at 85 degrees. My mind may

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have wandered, for I finished the volume and found nothing. I worked backward, and this time I found a deed of separation between John and Mary Fawcett, dated February 5, 1740. I studied it attentively, and could read that they had been people of considerable importance, that there had been trouble in bringing John to terms, but that Mary had used her influence with the Captain-General and induced him to issue a writ of supplicavit for a separate maintenance. The husband had finally agreed, or was forced, to separate her property from his, and she resigned all her rights of dower in lieu of a yearly stipend. But there was no mention of any children. On the following day, Mr. Mercier found in another volume a splinter of index on which was written the one word Fawcett. I searched that volume and found that in 1714 one Captain Frank Keynall had left a piece of property on Nevis to John and Mary Fawcett. In that way I ascertained that the couple had been married at least twenty-six years when they separated.

On a part of Nevis called Gingerland, Mr. Greaves told me, was a negro village named Fawcett. The inhabitants of this village were undoubtedly the descendants of the slaves who had been freed in the general emancipation of 1834, and had taken the name of their former owners. There was no trace of any other Fawcetts in the records. Beyond this I could find nothing, no further deeds relating to my people, no will made by either Fawcett, no mention of James Hamilton, nor of Lavines, Lyttons or Mitchells.

I spent four days on this island, and with the help of my friends read every church register extant, and explored every cemetery. The registers in the parish of Charles Town, where Hamilton was born, were destroyed by the French in 1780, and the others told nothing. The inscriptions in the church-yards—where the brambles choked the pathways—were almost all obliterated by time, for they had been cut in the sand-stone of the island. Many of the monuments have crumbled long since.

Meanwhile, I was haunted by a story which I had been told almost immediately upon arriving in Charles Town, that Hamilton had been the son of a Miss Hamilton and a planter from one of the other islands. About the year 1806, some one, living in Demerara, had written a sketch of Hamilton, containing this statement, asserted with authority. This pamphlet had been

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

in the possession of the one hotel-keeper of Nevis until a few years ago, when it was appropriated by an enterprising American. At that time I had not read Hamilton's correspondence, nor the extracts from the "Historical and Genealogical Memoirs of the House of Hamilton," of which there is no copy in this country; but I had read the extracts given by Lodge from the Pickering MSS., and for all I then knew James Hamilton might be one of the myths to be disposed of. Perhaps my mind was the more open to doubt because I promptly disproved one other of J. C. Hamilton's positive assertions.

Mr. Libord, the only lawyer of Nevis, had hunted up an old book on whose title page was the following legend: "Substance of the three reports of the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Administration of Civil and Criminal Justice in the West Indies. Extracted from the Parliamentary papers, with the General Conclusions of the Commissioner's Scheme of Improvement, Complete and in full. London, Joseph Butterworth & Son, 43 Fleet Street. 1827." In this book I learned that there had been no law for divorce or separate maintenance in the Islands. My lawyer had told me that this would be an important point to establish, for in England at that time divorce could be obtained only by a private act of Parliament, a proceeding which involved thousands of pounds and immense influence. Although this discovery mattered nothing in the light of subsequent findings, it served its purpose at the moment in shaking my faith in J. C. Hamilton; and the feminine mind lapses naturally to the conclusion that if the masculine has one weak spot it may have others. Perhaps if the new story had interested me less, I might have reflected that some men lie only when they think they must and are truthful when it is convenient.

But the story, indeed, took a strong hold upon my imagination, and in the four long nights on Nevis, when less romantic invaders kept me awake, I wove a tale which was very much to my taste. The Miss Hamilton was a daughter of one of the great planters and had loved a certain Mr. Stevens of St. Croix. Her father presented her with a house down by the sea and enough to keep her alive. Here she lived until Alexander was five years old, disinherited and deserted by all but Stevens, who came over occasionally. (I knew less of the easy morals of the day than I did after a more exhaustive study). By this time, she cared little

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for Stevens, and Alexander was the absorbing passion of her life, her natural maternal instinct being intensified by her solitary existence. Finally, Stevens came to her and offered to bring Alexander up in his own family, concealing from the world and the child the secret of his birth, and giving him an equal chance in life with his own children. She could come and live on St. Croix under another name, and see him as often as she wished—after he had forgotten her. For the sake of the child's future she consented, and Alexander grew up regarding her as a sort of fairy god-mother, fond of her, and not suspecting the relationship. When he left for the United States, Stevens permitted her to follow him, and throughout his lifetime she was his intimate friend and confidante. This is the point: She was to tell the story after his death. Being beautiful and brilliant, she had the political *salon* of her day, and was in a position to tell the history, political and social, of the time, with the intimate accuracy of one who was practically a part of it, the confidante of others besides Hamilton.

So tremendous a hold did this story and the personality of the woman take on my mind during those long nights and days and several that succeeded, that I identified myself with her, and I had the maternal passion in all its primitive simplicity. I told this story over and over to myself—always in the first person, be it remembered—always expanding and embellishing, until I was as much a figure in that bygone time as Alexander was himself. The consequence was that when the discoveries of the future compelled me to relinquish this elaborate piece of fiction, my mental attitude remained, and although obliged to forego the pleasure of telling the story in the first person, yet I almost unconsciously told it much as, during that memorable interval, I had expected to tell it.

I returned to St. Kitts, and the next day my searcher appeared and informed me that he had found James Hamilton. It was noon, but I flew to the Court House. The James Hamilton discovered died eighteen years before Alexander was born. I dismissed the expert and went on by myself. Although I had found and heard enough to interest me deeply, I cannot say that I was encouraged. In spite of the most brilliant sunshine that I had ever seen and the vast expanse of hot-blue sea before my window, I felt as if groping in the dark between stone walls. The mystery

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seemed to deepen, and so many of the records were lost. I was a generation too late for personal memories. Indeed, I had to approach the old people with the utmost tact. If I did not begin by asking them if they remembered hearing their grandfathers speak of Hamilton, they invariably regarded me sourly, remarked that they had not been alive a hundred and fifty years ago; and had to be placated. But I was now to have my first ray of light.

The records of St. Kitts are in a better condition than those of Nevis, and the indexes are in separate volumes. But they were not to be found all at once, and my progress was rather slow in consequence. I went through them as they came to hand and found Lyttons, Stevenses, and Mitchells without end. After reading the history of St. Croix, and of the invitation given by the Danes in 1733 to the planters of neighboring isles, and the church registers of the island, it was easy to see what island they had drawn upon for the larger part of their population. I read documents relating to these people, but was still unilluminated. At last, however, I found the second link in my chain. In the third or fourth volume I came upon the entry, "Fawcett to Hamm." I thought the clerk would never find the volume to which it referred, and when he did it was the most evil smelling and evil looking of the lot. Its pages were almost black, they broke and crumbled as I touched them, and the handwriting was diabolical. Even the pages were misnumbered, and I was obliged to resort to a study of margins before I saw again those words, "Fawcett to Hamm." For at least ten minutes I could make nothing of that cryptogram. It was a mere orgie of twirls and flourishes, letters twisted, and letters upside down. I called to the Registrar and clerk to help me, but they were busy. I was in a fine state of excitement, for I *felt* that, could I pull those flourishes apart, I should find the key to my mystery. Finally, I deciphered the first few lines. It was a deed of trust. Substantially, it began thus: "I, Mary Fawcett, widow, of the Island of St. Christopher, desiring to provide for the future of my three dear slaves, Rebecca, Flora, and Esther, transfer them to my friend Archibald Hamm, or to his heirs; they to remain in my possession during my lifetime, to pass thereafter to my beloved daughter, Rachael Lavion. . . ."

For the moment it seemed to me that Rachael Levine rose from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the page. She was as alive to me then as when I wrote of her later. And I was the only person living who knew the name of Hamilton's mother. The misspelling of her name did not disconcert me, for the spelling of the entry, as far as I had read it, was of an equal excellence with the handwriting, and in most of the deeds I had studied one name would be spelled in as many different ways as inferior education could devise. That I had found Hamilton's mother I never should have doubted even had I discovered no further evidence. The Registrar and clerk joined me, and together we deciphered the rest of the document. I have given the substance of it in my book. It was dated the fifth of May, 1756—eight months before the birth of Alexander Hamilton. I gathered that Mary Fawcett knew that Hamilton could not marry her daughter, and had her own reasons for wishing to provide for the future of her favorite slaves.

I turned that Court House upside down in my determination to find the will of Mary Fawcett. There were times when I felt that I would barter my immortal soul for the light it would give me. Were it not that they welcome any excitement in the West Indies—I am told that the other islands are jealous of Martinique—their amiability might have failed them. As it was, they were nearly distracted. They all called me "Mrs. Hamilton," and once the Registrar came forward with his hand at his head exclaiming: "Mrs. Atherton, what have you done to me? Here I am making out an important paper for Mr. Justice ———, and I have written 'Mr. Justice Hamilton!'"

But not another item could I find. Many of the records were chips between their rotting covers. Others had wholly disappeared. Mr. Mercier, on whom I could wholly rely, once more searched the records of Nevis. I was obliged to give it up. I examined the church registers, and the minutes of Council, and then set sail for St. Croix.

In Fredriksted I found nothing. Its last army of rioting negroes had burned the records, but I had looked for little there, and in a day or two I crossed the island to Christiansted. Here I was forced to endure inaction for several days. I had made up my mind to begin with the church registers; and the Anglican clergyman, Mr. Watson, was away. The Common Records, of course, were in Danish, and I did not know how to go to work upon them. Our consul had recently died—a Hamilton enthusi-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ast, worse luck!—and no new one had been appointed. The widow of the consul, although an American, was the only antagonistic person that I met in the Islands. I called upon her with a proper introduction; but she must have concluded that I did not look like an author, for she regarded me with suspicion, said she had never heard of Hamilton, and remarked that she was not responsible for the conversations her husband may have indulged in when away from home; he never had talked of such matters with her. Chaste soul! She may have heard that Hamilton was illegitimate.

During these days of waiting I passed some unquiet hours. Every instinct convinced me that I had found Hamilton's mother, but my proof was by no means sufficient to convince others, and the Miss Hamilton story followed me even here. In an old Danish dictionary I found the bald statement, that Hamilton was the son of a Miss Hamilton. It must be remembered, also, that I had not found James Hamilton, and that there are no libraries of standard works in these Islands. Could I have passed those long days with the volumes of Hamilton's "Works" containing his correspondence, I should have been saved much wear and tear of mind. These not only contain a letter from James Hamilton to his son, dated from St. Vincent, but Hamilton's correspondence with his relatives in Scotland; after his fame had induced them to look him up. In the "History of the Republic," also, there is a letter from Hamilton to his brother James—then living on St. Thomas—relating to their father. But, so far, I was still greatly in the dark. Not in despair, however, for I have a theory that anything can be found. It merely depends upon the endurance of the hunter.

Christiansted was beautiful enough to divert any mind, and I found that it had carefully preserved the memory of Hamilton. The store—Mr. Cruger's—in which he worked, is pointed out to all visitors, and the beautiful apartment above, occupied by Mr. Quin, the first citizen of the town, is called Hamilton House. I was guided to an aged slave who had lived with the Mitchells at the time of the emancipation, but she could tell me of little but their wealth and subsequent poverty. I learned, however, that the Mitchell of the time in which I was interested had been a slave trader, and his big stone store on the corner of Strand and King streets is in as fine a state of preservation as Cruger's. But to-day

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

there is not a person on the island bearing the name Mitchell, Cruger, Lytton, Stevens, Hamilton, or Knox.

Mr. Watson returned and immediately took me to his house, where the registers of St. John's Church were kept. They were in admirable order and reached back to 1761. Mr. Watson sat down to one volume and I to another. Here were nearly all the names that I sought. My people, judging by the number of times they stood sponsors, and the state in which they were married or buried, were the great of the island. It is remarkable how much one can learn of the social history of a place from its church registers. These seemed to gossip. And here was Hugh Knox at last. Among others I found this entry: "James Towers and Ann Knox on the 8th of May (1787) by virtue of license at the Rev. Hugh Knox's house," as well as the information that Mr. Hugh Knox and Miss Yard stood sponsors to a little Knox in 1815, November the 17th. It will be remembered that one of the Yards of St. Croix is mentioned in the extract from the Pickering MSS.

At last, in another and older volume, I came suddenly upon the following entry—under the year 1768:

"Rachael Levine, Feb. 26, at Mr. Tuite's Plant., by D. O., aged 32."

Again it seemed to me that I saw the woman. The faded characters written on the day of her interment, nearly a century and a half ago, might have been a volume. But I know the dangers of imagination when one is searching for facts, and after I had stared at the notice until I could hardly see it, I went on. Who was Mr. Tuite? Why should she be buried on his plantation? Shortly after I came upon the notice, "James Lytton, Aug. 12, at Mr. Tuite's Grange plantation, aged 67." And again: "James Lytton, Jan. 16, 1777, at Mr. Tuite's Grange, aged 11;" and Mary Lytton interred on the Grange estate in 1778, aged twenty-two months.

It will be remembered that Peter Lytton was supposed to be the husband of one of Hamilton's aunts. According to these records he was the son of James Lytton; and his brother, James Lytton, Jr., according to the same records, married Christiana Huggins of Nevis. Their family burying-lot was on the Grange estate, which at one time they must have owned. Naturally, when Rachael Levine died in their midst she was buried with her kinspeople. The great families of the time all had their private

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cemeteries. Mr. Watson sent us out to the Grange estate in his phaeton that same afternoon. It is now the property of the government, and the man who rents it told me that, although there was the ruin of a chapel on the estate, and although they had come across more than one grave among the cane, there was no sign of a cemetery. On a hill immediately adjoining the estate, I found the picturesque ruin of a little graveyard which I craved to appropriate. It contained one imposing box tomb, with an illegible inscription and several broken headstones. The wall was in a similar state of decay. Three sides were uneven and crumbling, and the fourth had been rooted up by the arms of a banyan tree and crushed in a fast embrace. I did all I could to annex this burying-ground to the old Grange estate, and by writing to Denmark and by obtaining the exact acreage of the estate, past and present, I did find that to-day Grange is about a half acre short; but I was not justified in assuming that this particular hill was the lost half acre, and I could obtain nothing more definite. Indeed, I am afraid the hill was a good deal more than a half acre away.

My next object was to find the records of the church in which Hugh Knox must have preached, for I was convinced that he had baptized Hamilton. I was told that, being a Presbyterian, he would have preached in the Lutheran Church, and I accordingly called on the Lutheran minister, Mr. Lewetz. He told me that the registers had disappeared long since but might be in St. Thomas. Then I turned my attention to Government House. They told me that all the old records had been sent to Denmark and were in the archives at Copenhagen. So I returned to the church registers, made a thorough study of them, and found, among many other enlightening entries, that "Peter Levine, son of John Michael and Rachael Levine," had got himself baptized in 1769, a year after his mother's death.

I crossed over to St. Croix and sought out the Lutheran minister. He very kindly hunted through some old chests in the cellar of his church, but found nothing that I wanted. He told me, however, that the clergymen had always been obliged to send to Government House a record of every birth, marriage and death, and at Government House the Secretary told me that all such records were in Denmark. Immediately after my return to America I was put in communication with a reliable person in Copenhagen

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

who searched the few records of St. Croix that have been rescued from fire and damp and worms. He could find no mention of Knox or Hamilton, but a good deal about John Michael Levine, the Lyttons, and the Grange estate. Meanwhile, I had learned all there was to know about James Hamilton and had received from our consul on the island of St. Vincent a certificate of his interment notice, made out and signed by the Archdeacon, E. A. Turpin. It was not long after that I found the last link in my chain.

I had read the first volume of J. C. Hamilton's "Life" of his father, but had not wasted time on the second, as it was all in the "History of the Republic." But one day in the Lenox Library I took down the volume and glanced through it. Almost immediately—on page 7—I came upon the following in a letter from Hamilton to General Greene, dated October, 1782: "I take the liberty to inclose a letter to Mr. Kane, executor to the estate of Mr. Lavine, a half-brother of mine, who died some time since in South Carolina." The rest of the letter was familiar. I turned hastily to the same letter in the "Works." This paragraph with other matter had been omitted, doubtless for the sake of its room. It is quite likely that none of the other biographers of Hamilton had seen it. As for the spelling of the name, it is more than probable that in the original letter it was written Levine, and was incorrectly copied. But not only was it the last bit of evidence needed, but it might have been deliberately written as a sequel to the register of St. Croix.*

GERTRUDE ATHERTON.

* The impression given by Hamilton's other biographers is that he was about five years old when his mother died. According to the register of St. Croix, he was eleven. Mr. Richard Church afterward told me that Hamilton told his father, Philip Church, that he was eleven when his mother died.

Mr. Watson had the page of the register containing the interment notice of Rachael Levine, photographed, and a copy is now in the possession of the Society of Historical Research of New York.

It is stated somewhere in J. C. Hamilton's work that Hamilton's mother was living on St. Christopher when she met James Hamilton. Doubtless Hamilton told the whole story to his wife, who instructed her son, with discretion.

If James Hamilton left his mark on any of these Islands it was recorded in the volumes which have disappeared.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CONSTITUTION OF CARNEGIA.

BY JAMES RAYMOND PERRY.

"MAY I ask your nationality, sir? You speak excellent English, but with a slightly foreign accent. Believe me, I am not prompted to ask the question wholly through idle curiosity."

"I am a Carnegian, sir," replied my new acquaintance. "I perceive by your expression," he continued, "that you have probably never heard of our people. Nor is that at all strange. The country is so small that very few maps show it. But should you care to get at its approximate geographical position, take your atlas and first find Altruria. Unless your maps may be on a large scale, it is unlikely that Carnegia will be shown; but it lies just north of Altruria."

"Are you acquainted in Altruria?" I asked a little eagerly.

"Oh yes. I have often visited its capital, and travelled through the provinces. It is a beautiful country."

"It must be," I said. "Did you ever chance to meet Mr. Howells's Altrurian? I believe he is the only traveller from that country who has ever visited this."

"Yes, I know him well; a very lovely character. But for that matter all Altrurians are lovely characters. They are farther advanced in Christian civilization than we. We Carnegians love to emulate their example in many ways; but we are not yet quite ready to adopt all their broad Christian views. You see, they lie south of us in a warmer clime; and perhaps that has something to do with their warmer-heartedness."

"I'm afraid, sir, I must seem singularly ignorant," I said; "but candor forces me to confess that I never before heard of Carnegia. Would you mind telling me something about it?"

"I should be delighted. My beloved country is one of the themes about which I never tire of talking. If I once get started I fear I shall weary you with the subject."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"When I begin to feel weary I will yawn," I said, smiling.

"Very well, with that agreed upon I will begin. Our country took its name from a Scotchman, who, early in the century, was much interested in matters pertaining to the welfare of humanity. He was a man of very great wealth; and after retiring from active business affairs he gradually gave away his many millions, founding institutions of learning and culture. In his later years he gave expression to the sentiment that 'It is a disgrace for a man to die rich.' His theory, as we in our country understand it, was that the nominal owner of wealth is not the actual owner, but merely the trustee of the property in his legal possession. A man of wealth should, then, in his later years devote his time and energies to disposing wisely of his money for the best interests of mankind, for whom circumstances and environment have made him the more or less involuntary trustee. If selfish interests continue to dominate him, and death overtakes him in old age before he has rendered account of his stewardship, then, according to the inspirer of our system, he is under the stigma of disgrace from which, so far as this world is concerned, he can never be relieved. To our people it seemed that this unusual Scotchman was sane and right in his view of the matter. We knew, however, that human selfishness was such as to cause men and women who had made or inherited money to desire to cling to it to the very end; and that, rather than acknowledge their trusteeship, they preferred to risk the odium of disgrace in which their surviving fellow creatures must ever hold them. We Carnegians, therefore, determined that in our country the state should aid all men and women to escape the disgrace into which their greed and selfishness might otherwise plunge them. We adopted a constitution framed in some of its articles upon the constitution of Altruria, which, as every one knows, is based upon the Sermon on the Mount. Our constitution provides that no native-born man or woman, after reaching the age of sixty years, shall be protected by the state in his or her property rights. All such persons upon reaching that age, whether rich or poor, must relinquish to the state their property, if there be any, or, if there be none, their right to acquire and own property. In return for this, the constitution provides that the name of every such person shall be enrolled upon the lists of Honored Citizens, and that thereafter, through the remainder of their natural lives, they shall be supported by the state, enjoying whatever leisure or

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

labor they may individually elect. If the fund thus provided fails in any given year to be large enough to support each and every Honored Citizen in extreme comfort, not to say luxury, the constitution provides that the remaining population shall be taxed to do so. But for many years now it has been found unnecessary to impose any tax for this purpose. The Property Contributors' Fund, as it is called, has been found more than adequate for the support of the Honored Citizens, and each year it is increasing. As originally adopted, the constitution provided that the Property Contributors' Fund should be held inviolate, devoted solely to providing for the wants and whims of the Honored Citizen class; but it was soon found that this fund was proving so much in excess of what was required that it was likely to become unwieldy, and an amendment to the constitution was adopted. This amendment provides that the accumulation of the Fund, over and above a certain stated sum designated as the Reserve, may be used for certain permanent public improvements, though not for the running expenses of the government aside from the Honored Citizenship expenses. But its use in these directions has already served to reduce materially the rate of taxation. The Reserve is intended to supply a fund which may be drawn upon if the current receipts from property holders passing into the Honored Citizen class do not equal the expense of supporting that class.

"It was predicted by the critics of our constitution that men of large wealth, upon nearing the age limit for individual right to own property, would sell their possessions and move to some country where the right to own property is granted and the danger of dying disgraced not guarded against. While there were a few examples of such individual selfishness, experience has proved that the criticism was not well founded. What might perhaps be called civic selfishness has in a large measure replaced individual selfishness; and actual experience has shown that large property owners approach the age limit with quite as much pleasure and eagerness as do the impecunious ones. It has become the ambition of busy, energetic men to turn over to the state as large a fortune as possible when the age limit is reached, just as now, in your country, it is the ambition of such men to leave to their families the largest possible fortunes. It is doubtful if the age limit would be approached with the same emotions of pleasure by such men if a cessation of their business activities upon reaching

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the limit was compulsory. But such is not the case. As I said before, an Honored Citizen may elect either leisure or labor; and there have been numerous instances of men at the head of large business affairs continuing in such positions for ten or a dozen years beyond the age limit. Only, whatever profits may result from their continued activities do not belong to them but to the state. It then becomes the ambition of these men to increase their usefulness to the state by adding to the fund for the support of the Honored Citizens. The number of Honored Citizens who elect to remain idle is amazingly small. For the most part, they seem to prefer work to idleness. Their activities display themselves in many ways. Numbers enter what I suppose we must call politics, though it is as different in kind from the politics of most countries as one can well imagine. Our President—for our country is a republic—need not be chosen from the Honored Citizen class, though now for many successive terms our presidents have been. In our Congress, the representatives—who are chosen by the people direct—are at present about evenly divided between the Honored Citizens and the Citizen party, as it is called. Frequently the Honored Citizens are in the majority in the Congress; and, generally speaking, it is found to be beneficial when such is the case. Unable to own property individually, individual selfishness is rare among them; and therefore such legislation as the Congress is empowered to make under the constitution is likely to be wise and for the best interests of the whole people. When any attempt at class legislation is made—for example, if legislation looking to undue privileges to the Honored Citizen class is attempted, as occurred once or twice in our earlier history,—at the next election a majority of the Citizen party will be seated in Congress and the unfair laws promptly repealed. Elections occur each year. As the citizens always vastly outnumber the Honored Citizens they can at any election gain control of the Congress. But when in such control they are unable to enact class legislation essentially harmful to the Honored Citizens, because, as a class, the latter are so jealously guarded by the provisions of the constitution. No amendment to the constitution can be made unless it receive nine-tenths of all the ballots cast. As a matter of fact, not the slightest desire to amend the constitution has ever been evinced by any class of our citizens, except in the one case I have mentioned.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Salaries are paid to all public officers from the President down. If under the age limit they retain their salaries, and if over the age limit they return them to the state. A President, if beyond the age limit, has little material advantage over the humblest Honored Citizen. He has a palace to live in, to be sure; but for that matter every Honored Citizen is practically housed in a palace; and every Honored Citizen may be clothed and fed as sumptuously as a President elected from that class. For all individuals in the class fare alike.

"Any position under the government is regarded as a mark of added honor by many of our Honored Citizens; and thus it happens that a large number of clerical positions in the government offices, as well as the heads of the several departments, are filled by men past sixty whose labor costs the government nothing. It is a labor of love with many, who prefer it to idleness, and enjoy the distinction it carries; others are actuated by a sense of duty, feeling that inasmuch as they are being supported in comfort by the state they would like to give the state in return such labor as they are capable of while their strength lasts. But with none is service of any sort compulsory. Whatever service is rendered is purely voluntary. And the quality of the services rendered is in no wise impaired because of this. Rather is it improved, I should say. The labor thus performed by the Honored Citizen class saves the state large sums annually, and the taxes paid by the Citizen class are correspondingly reduced.

"Upon reaching the age limit and becoming Honored Citizens, others devote their time and talents to pursuits towards which their tastes have long attracted them, but which, because of the necessity of earning their daily bread, they have been unable to indulge in. Thus have art, literature and music received some notable recruits; and the excellence of the achievements of these recruits is really surprising. This is particularly true of literature. Experience with us has shown that many men and women have a natural talent for writing, but lacking leisure have indulged their taste for it in only the most desultory fashion. Passing into the Honored Citizen class at the age of sixty, these men and women suddenly find themselves released from the iron necessity of toiling for existence. The large leisure which they now find themselves permitted to enjoy is admirably suited to literary efforts; and if they find that the fire and enthusiasm of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

youth have in a large measure vanished, that is offset, in part at least, by the ripe knowledge which the experiences of a long life yield one. Even when the results are not commensurate with the effort, the pursuit proves a pleasant, and so not altogether unprofitable, pastime for those who love literary labor. But, as I have intimated, much work of genuine literary value has been accomplished by members of our Honored Citizenry. Perhaps you may not be aware that that remarkable novel entitled 'Starworld,' issued from the press a few years ago, was the product of one of Carnegia's Honored Citizens; but such is the case.

"What is true of literature is also true, though in a somewhat less degree, of art. Some very creditable work in the way of painting and sculpture has been done by our Honored Citizens, who, had they remained under the necessity of toiling for a living, might never have reached their present achievements. You will smile, perhaps; but in our art schools to-day there are men and women past sixty—Honored Citizens—who are studying painting and sculpture with almost as much intelligence and enthusiasm as students of twenty bring to their work in your own schools. I tell you, my dear sir, that where there is a strong natural bent for artistic effort it survives a lifetime of enforced efforts in other directions. These men and women are confidently counting upon twenty or thirty years more of life in which to enjoy their art; and it is a fact—attributable, I firmly believe, to our Carnegian system—that the expectation of life, based upon the mortuary tables, is at the age of sixty greater in Carnegia than in any other country in the world, with the single exception of Altruria."

"You almost make me believe, sir," said I, "that yours is a country in which it is desirable to dwell. Personally, I have never regarded myself in much danger of dying disgraced, according to that Carnegian theory of yours; but, under the stress of toil for bread, I have often looked with longing towards the leisure that would enable me to turn my efforts into channels more congenial to my tastes. May I enquire concerning your immigration laws?"

"They are as liberal, sir, as is consistent with our form of government. Persons under twenty years of age, if physically and mentally sound, are admitted, even if illiterate. Persons between twenty and thirty-five who can read and write and are sound in body and mind, are admitted. Immigrants in these two classes are eligible at the age of sixty for Honored Citizenship,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

with the enjoyment of all the rights and privileges granted native-born citizens. The theory is that at least twenty-five years labor in the country of their adoption should be performed in return for the privileges granted them after attaining the age limit."

"And is no one admitted above the age of thirty-five?" I asked a little wistfully.

"Yes, but under certain conditions. And these conditions, you will perceive, conflict somewhat with the theory just mentioned. An immigrant under forty, sound in body and mind, and literate—no illiterate or demented, or seriously crippled person above the age of twenty can be admitted except by act of Congress—is admissible, and at the age of sixty-two enters into full enjoyment of Honored Citizenship. Immigrants between forty and forty-five may enter, and become Honored Citizens at the age of sixty-five, while immigrants between forty-five and fifty are admitted, but do not enjoy Honored Citizenship until reaching the age of seventy. No person above the age of fifty can become a citizen except by special act of Congress. These are the restrictions and limitations imposed by our existing laws. These laws, however, are alterable at the will of Congress."

"Does your Citizen class enjoy as large a measure of prosperity as citizens of other countries?" I asked.

"Larger. In Carnegia the *per capita* wealth of the Citizen class is greater than that of any other country in the world with, as before, the sole exception of Altruria."

"How do you explain it?"

"Well, to explain it wholly would, of course, be difficult, but it is due chiefly, no doubt, to the fact that we maintain no army and navy. Most countries are handicapped by these burdens. In those countries the producers are kept poor through having to support a large body of non-producers—soldiers remaining idle throughout their best and what should be their most productive years. The absence of an army and navy is profitable in more ways than one. Not only is the productive labor of large bodies of men retained and made to contribute to the commonwealth and the sums necessary to support them in idleness saved, but other vast sums that would be required for equipping armies, constructing fortifications, building and maintaining navies, are also saved to the public treasury. Unburdened, then, by heavy taxation, the people are enabled to live in greater comfort and to accumulate larger wealth than are the military-burdened peoples."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"But, sir," said I, "I should suppose your national existence would be imperilled without protection from a military force. So rich a country as yours, even though small, must be a temptation to the great and powerful nations whose greed for new colonies is never satisfied. Through what art of diplomacy do you protect yourselves from the robber nations?"

"Your question, sir, is a natural one. It is not through able diplomacy that we are protected, but through our geographical position. But for that I fear our immunity from attack would be brief, for our wealth and prosperity would surely tempt to conquest those which you accurately designate as the robber nations. As I have previously stated, Altruria lies immediately south of us and forms a powerful and effective barrier against invasion. A foreign army would have to penetrate Altruria before attacking us. So wise are the Altrurians and so formidable, in spite of their unswerving peace policy, that no nation dare attack them singly, and no two nations could agree to an attack. So long as Altruria lasts, so long, I believe, are we safe."

"You must be a happy people."

"We are. To realize how happy you should visit Carnegia and see us in our homes. Worry and anxiety are the enemies of happiness and peace. I do not pretend to say that anxiety and worry do not exist among our people. So long as we and our friends fall sick and die, we cannot wholly escape these emotions. But they have been in a large measure eliminated by the operation of our system. Among other peoples it is common to see middle-aged and even young persons toiling and saving, denying themselves food and raiment sufficient for the body and proper entertainment for the mind; literally almost starving body and mind because of the cost of things necessary for their nourishment; victims of worry, forever haunted by the fear of want in their old age. In their fancy they see the almshouse doors opening to admit them; and, shrinking from the shame of it, they toil the harder, deny themselves yet more, and so in want and worry wear out their hopeless lives. And with us how different! In Carnegia no one worries for fear of want in old age. Our citizens feel confident that if given health and strength they can earn a living until the age of sixty; and they know that after that they will be provided for generously by the state, and that, while enjoying such provision in whatever way best suits their fancy, they

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will also, instead of suffering the shame and ignominy which state wards in other countries experience, enjoy the added distinction of Honored Citizenship, which is regarded by all of our citizens as a real and well-earned honor. It is well earned; for any man of sixty who has done honest and worthy work, whether great or humble, has earned the right to receive during the rest of his natural life the honor and support of the country in which he has so labored. I wish most heartily, sir, that you might come and see us in our homes, and realize—as I believe you could not fail to do—the benefits and the beauty of our Carnegian system."

"I wish, indeed, that I might," I said, and then added: "It seems to me, sir, that you must experience difficulty in adjusting the property rights of persons in the Citizen class when a man of wealth passes into the Honored Citizen class. As I understand it, a millionaire on his sixtieth birthday must relinquish all control over his money. It ceases to belong to him, and becomes the property of the state. Is not this injurious and unjust to his family and others who may be dependent on him? His wife and children may have been untrained to earn a livelihood, or ill health might unfit them for it even if so trained. How do these dependent ones fare after the state takes the property from which their income had hitherto been drawn?"

"A millionaire may, if he chooses, on the day before his sixtieth birthday, or at any time prior thereto, give away his property and enter the Honored Citizen class penniless. There have been a few examples of this sort of selfishness; and one or two large properties are held by members of the Citizen class who obtained them by gift in this manner. But public sentiment holds such citizens in a disregard, not to say dishonor, which must be hard for the victims to endure. They are socially ostracised, which, I presume, must seem strange enough to you who are accustomed to seeing the reverse of these principles exemplified—and any display of wealth on the part of such beneficiaries is deemed vulgar in the extreme.

"I perceive, sir, by your expression, that this phase of our social system does not quite commend itself to you. But let me explain more fully. While public sentiment frowns upon a millionaire who gives to his family all his property on the eve of Honored Citizenship, it does not frown upon his making reasonable provision for such as may be actually dependent upon him. For ex-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ample, a millionaire at sixty may have a wife aged fifty-five, we will say, an invalid daughter aged thirty, and a son in good health aged twenty-five. In five years his wife will enter the Honored Citizen class. Three thousand dollars a year, we will say, seems necessary for her comfort. That, then, will require fifteen thousand dollars for a term of five years. We will say that two thousand dollars per annum seem necessary for the daughter. If she lives, it will be thirty years before she enters the Honored Citizen class. Sixty thousand dollars, then, are required for her. The son being in good health, the presumption is that he will be able to earn his own living. However, a nest-egg even for him is not regarded as unreasonable; and if it should be made as large as twenty-five thousand—which would be about as much as public sentiment with us could sanction—the combined amounts would equal not more than one-tenth of the millionaire's possessions."

"But suppose a man worth a hundred thousand dollars is similarly situated as regards wife, invalid daughter, etc? If he provided for them in the way and to the extent that you suggest, there would be nothing left for the state when he entered Honored Citizenship. Would public opinion sanction his making such provision for his family?"

"No. The habit of life of this family would probably have been formed on a less expensive basis and smaller sums would be regarded as adequate for their provision. A man worth a hundred thousand dollars might reasonably give to his family one half of his property before entering Honored Citizenship."

"And how about a man worth only ten thousand? Could he give it all to his family without suffering in public esteem?"

"Yes. Still, even that is not often done. It will, perhaps, be a little hard for you to comprehend our point of view, living under a system such as yours. But with us it is a matter of pride and patriotism, if we possess property, though only a small amount, to turn some of it over to the state upon our entrance to Honored Citizenship. Nor is the feeling of pride confined to the person so entering, but it extends to his family, who are glad to have him make contribution to the state, even though they are left the poorer."

"Your citizens are certainly unselfish."

"Yes, I think they are. Still, do not make the mistake of thinking it is absolute unselfishness. It is our firm conviction—

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strong, I might say, as religious belief—that whatever is good for all is good for the individual."

"How is it when a wealthy man dies under the age of sixty?"

"He is free to make such disposition of his property as he chooses. Our inheritance tax, however, is heavy, and increases in ratio, according to the sums involved, which we regard as both right and reasonable."

"And with us would be regarded as unfair and unreasonable."

"Yes, I suppose so. We view it quite differently, you see. With us the idea of our trusteeship in the matter of property is ever present, whereas with you it—"

"Is nearly always absent," I laughed, seeing that he hesitated.

"Well, perhaps; though let neither of us forget that the inspirer of our system was a man reared under your system.

"This feeling of trusteeship, then, makes our citizens of wealth not hostile, but friendly, to our inheritance tax; and it also leads them very frequently to bequeath a portion of their property to the state, especially if they have lived to within a few years of the age limit of citizenship. They believe their wealth has been drawn from the people—none the less because the people have given their consent—and is, therefore, returnable to the people."

"Our motto, 'Every man for himself,' must be changed in your country to, 'Every man for his neighbor.'"

The Carnegian smiled.

"You must have very nearly revolutionized human nature in your country," I added.

For another moment the Carnegian preserved silence, and then said: "Well, we have and we haven't. I think our human nature is not so very different from yours, after all. And in saying that I mean that I think mankind at large are much more deeply in love with good than they know. I believe at heart man loves fairness and wishes his neighbor well, but that, under a false social and industrial system, he finds himself perplexed and baffled. I believe he loves the golden rule laid down by that white-souled Teacher of Galilee, but knows not how to put it into practice."

To this I shook my head sadly. "The tiger in us still survives," I said.

JAMES RAYMOND PERRY.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE EXTENSION OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE WEST INDIES.

BY L. S. ROWE, CHAIRMAN OF THE INSULAR COMMISSION TO REVISE THE LAWS OF PORTO RICO.

To the people of the United States the West Indies are hardly more than a name. Our commercial relations in the Caribbean have been relatively unimportant, and we have remained indifferent to the problems of government presented by the archipelago. Indeed, if the question were asked, "To whom do the West Indies belong?" it would be difficult to find any one to give a correct answer off-hand. Of recent years, it is true, the fortunes of Cuba have aroused the sympathies of the American people; but as to the condition and nationality of the other islands we have shown neither interest nor concern. Nor has the slightest attention been given to the industrial revolution through which the West Indies have passed, and which has left its mark on their social and political status. In fact, since the temptation to acquire additional territory in the Caribbean for the purpose of extending slavery has disappeared, these islands have not been a factor in the public policy of the United States.

To the historian, however, they have presented a perennial interest. About the West Indies are grouped the struggles of the European powers for a foothold in America, the great naval conflicts which this struggle engendered, the daring exploits of the buccaneers, and the cruelties and barbarities of the slave trade. Tested by our modern standards, the record is unenviable. Complete absence of good faith, treachery towards the native population, inhuman treatment of the conquered peoples and a total disregard of personal and property rights seem to characterize the period. And yet, with it all, there is an irresistible attraction in the story of these islands, due largely to their close

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

relation with the rise of the great Continental Powers and to the extraordinary character of the leading figures in the conflict for the supremacy of the Spanish Main.

Prized partly because of their resources, but mainly because of their strategic position, no sacrifice seemed too great to secure their possession. When we remember that the control of the West Indies meant the command of a highway which led to new sources of fabulous wealth, we can readily understand the willingness to sacrifice untold lives, to risk national honor and to impose crushing burdens upon the national treasury in order to secure a few square miles of territory. As Froude eloquently puts it:

"Here Drake and Hawkins intercepted the golden stream which flowed from Panama into the exchequer at Madrid, and furnished Philip with the means to carry on his war with the Reformation. The Pope had claimed to be lord of the New World as well as of the Old, and had declared that Spaniards, and only Spaniards, should own territory or carry on trade within the tropics. The seamen of England took up the challenge and replied with cannon shot. It was not the Crown, it was not the Government, which fought that battle: it was the people of England who fought it, with their own hands and their own resources. Adventurers, buccaneers, corsairs, privateers, call them by what name we will, stand as extraordinary but characteristic figures on the stage of history, disowned or acknowledged by their sovereign as suited diplomatic convenience. The outlawed pirate of one year was promoted the next to be a governor and his country's representative. In those waters the men were formed and trained who drove the Armada through the Channel into wreck and ruin. In those waters, in the centuries which followed, France and England fought for the ocean empire, and England won it—won it on the day when her own politicians' hearts had failed them, and all powers of the world had combined to humiliate her."

When we turn from this picture so full of conflict, rivalry and enthusiasm, and encircled with the halo of romance, to examine the more recent history of the West Indies, the contrast is at first startling and in some respects depressing. The prized islands of the seventeenth century have become the burden of the nineteenth. By a curious combination of circumstances, they have profited by the suffering of Europe, and have been crushed by European prosperity. They have registered with great accuracy the shifting of industrial and commercial relations, every change in the relation of America to Europe finding its reflex in the status of the islands.

To ascertain the cause of this industrial decline, it is neces-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sary to keep in mind the industrial policy of the great European Powers, and particularly of England, during the present century. The aim of the eighteenth century was to protect the producer and leave the consumer to his own resources. With the rise of the middle and working classes to a dominant position, the interests of the consumer were forced upon the governments of Europe and became the chief object of their care. The contrast in English commercial policy is particularly marked. During the reign of George the Second, the law of England attempted to give to the West Indies a monopoly of the English sugar market, irrespective of price; during the reign of Victoria, the government has labored consistently to secure sugar from the cheapest sugar-producing centres. On the continent of Europe, the movement has not been so pronounced as in England. The attempt to encourage the production of beet-sugar led both Germany and France into a system of export bounties, which enabled the Continental producer to place sugar on the English market at a price which made the cultivation of cane-sugar unremunerative. The West Indies were being gradually crushed between English and Continental industrial policy. The labor problem, which arose immediately after the abolition of slavery, tended to aggravate the situation of the West Indian planter. The discouragement which resulted led to stagnation in methods of production, and has made the recent history of the English West Indies a story of gradual but certain decline.

But, varied as the economic fortunes of the English, French, and Danish Islands have been, they are tame and uninteresting when compared with their checkered political history. For more than a century these islands were the football of Continental politics. The traveller leaving the West Indies for a brief visit to Europe could not be certain whether on his return he would find the English, French, Spaniards or Dutch in possession. Little attempt was made to colonize the islands. The climate called for a people who could endure the tropical heat, and the proximity to the western shore of Africa furnished this population. The enslavement of the negro, in its turn, reacted upon the industry of the islands, and committed them—one is almost tempted to say, committed them hopelessly—to the sugar cane. With slavery their political organization was practically determined. Complete subjection to the mother country and a total disregard of the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

personal right of the subject populations characterized the West Indian policy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Nor did emancipation in any way relieve the situation. Indeed, it tended in some respects to aggravate the political difficulties. The overwhelming proportion of negroes and mixed races inspired the white population with a fear of uprisings which at times reached the point of overpowering and unreasoned terror.

Strange as it may seem, the political emancipation of the West Indies begins with their industrial decline. Commercial stagnation bred discontent, and discontent found expression in political agitation and disturbance. The English Liberals of the sixties failed to see the economic basis of this political movement, and they construed it—in fact, welcomed it—as an awakening of political consciousness, long looked for, it is true, but coming when least expected. To them it was an unmistakable indication that the islands were ripe for local self-government. This enthusiastic but, unfortunately, illusory view, for reasons less generous, appealed to that element of the merchant and land-holding classes who saw that the West Indies would soon become a burden to the mother country. Although convinced that independence meant a gradual lapse into barbarism, they were willing to allow posterity to take its chances, provided England might be relieved of a troublesome political situation. In the largest of the Spanish possessions the same economic pressure inaugurated the series of revolutions which finally led to our conflict with Spain.

The picture is thus complete. The islands that were once so highly prized have not only lost their hold on the imagination of Europe, but on its material interests as well. Nothing could be more instructive than the long series of Commission Reports—English, French and Spanish—telling the same tale and pointing to the same conclusion, viz;—given the existing commercial policy of Europe, the only salvation for the islands is the opening of the American market. A brief period of reciprocity gave to the planters a glimpse of the promised land, and aroused the hope that a solution had at last been found; but the refusal of the United States to renew these treaties again placed them in the unfortunate situation from which they seemed to be emerging. Unless, therefore, the epoch in which we are living is to witness a new shifting of commercial relations, the outlook for the West

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Indies seems hopeless. One of the most brilliant students of our civilization has said: "The archipelago must be absorbed into the United States or lapse into barbarism."

Fortunately for them, the United States is passing through a series of industrial changes which seem destined to place this group of islands in a position not unlike that which they occupied in the seventeenth century, and at least approaching it in importance. The development of our home manufactures has led us to look outward for new markets, and has directed attention to South America and the Far East. In this movement the West Indies have acquired a new importance, mainly because of their strategic position. Forming the most important political factor in the situation, stands the Monroe doctrine, which will permit no other nation to acquire a foothold in these waters, and thus forbids any change of sovereignty in the Caribbean, other than transfer to the United States. Sooner or later, we must assume the responsibility which this interpretation involves.

Thus, a combination of irresistible economic and political forces is driving the West Indies into the arms of the United States. While our immediate commercial interests may dictate that we acquire and maintain a dominant position in the Caribbean and may lead us to the gradual absorption of the islands, we must not shut our eyes to the political responsibilities which this policy involves. In each group there is a different lesson to be learned, a different service to be performed. In the English islands, the United States would have to attempt the government of an overwhelming negro population, largely through its own representatives. In the French group, we should be compelled to harmonize the highly centralized colonial system of France with our own ideas of local autonomy. In the Spanish islands, the problem before us is to take a population which for centuries has been far removed from public life, whose traditions and training are totally different from our own, and gradually adjust their ideas to American standards. To accomplish what England, France, Spain, Denmark and Holland have striven for in vain, is no light undertaking. The task is one which might make a nation with less buoyancy and self-confidence shrink with terror. It is true that we enter upon the task with an advantage which no other nation possesses, namely, the possibility of giving to these islands a degree of pros-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

perity which they have not enjoyed since the middle of the century. Our unlimited capacity in the consumption of sugar, coffee, and other tropical products assures a market incomparably superior to any which they now possess.

But even these economic advantages will not assure an easy and ready solution of the problem of government. To meet this phase of the situation will require an adaptation of our political ideas and standards which is certain to put us to a severe test. The ready ease with which the American people assume responsibilities of the gravest nature, the unlimited self-confidence in their ability to solve the most difficult political problems, is, in the main, an element of strength in dealing with such a situation. But it is not without its dangers. Our unbounded faith in the benefits of American rule and in the blessings of American institutions has obscured the otherwise obvious fact, that it requires time and patience to arouse the same enthusiasm in a people accustomed to an essentially different system of law and political organization. It is characteristic of our self-assurance that, in dealing with our new possessions, we have remained indifferent to European experience and European example. No shadow of doubt has disturbed the confidence in our ability to adapt our institutions to the new conditions. Is it not true, we have asked, that the elasticity of mind and tolerance of spirit of the American people have been the admiration of the nations of Europe? The readiness with which we have absorbed foreigners coming to our shores, without doing violence to any of their accepted traditions, has been pointed out, and justly so, as one of the greatest achievements of modern times. No matter how far removed they may originally have been from our type of civilization, a few years have sufficed to bring them to our mode of life, and in most cases to our mode of thought. The Chinese have been the only notable exception to this rule.

But our contact with foreign peoples in the West Indies is of an entirely different character. We are in a sense strangers in their midst, and owing to climatic conditions we must always remain in the minority. They have and will retain a mode of life and a standard of activity quite different from our own, which we cannot hope radically to change. While the organizing power in both government and industry must come from the North, the detailed execution must depend upon native capacity

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

and native labor. The question of our attitude towards the native population of these islands becomes, therefore, a matter of supreme importance.

On this point our contact with the Spanish-American civilization in Porto Rico is full of instruction. In California and New Mexico, it is true, we were brought into close relation with Spanish customs and institutions, but—especially in the case of California—the country proved so attractive to our own people that in a short time the Spanish element found itself in the minority. In such circumstances, it is not surprising that the transformation was rapid and complete. Native institutions yielded naturally to the new order of things. The comparative ease with which the problems were solved, together with the ready assimilation of the masses of foreign-born constantly crowding to our shores, has led us to the belief that we are a cosmopolitan people. The experience of the last three years in Porto Rico, Cuba and the Philippines raises the question, whether we have not overestimated our spirit of tolerance and elasticity of ideas.

In Porto Rico, we dropped into the midst of a people foreign to us in manner of thought, and whose institutional life is distinctly European. For nearly four centuries, the Roman Law, with its theory of the family essentially different from our own, has governed domestic relations; the Napoleonic system, with its highly centralized administrative organization, has given the tone to civic life; and the Roman Catholic Church, supported by and identified with the state, has strengthened the principle of authority which pervades both domestic and political relations. Whatever our opinion as to the desirability of this system, it is evident that it cannot be changed at a stroke, without seriously endangering the entire social structure of the island. And yet, had it not been for the exceptional character of the men chosen by the late President McKinley as Governor and heads of executive departments, it is within the limits of probability that we should have aroused a distrust of American institutions which would have delayed, for a generation at least, the Americanization of the island. To the mass of Americans resident in the island (and this is particularly true of the lawyers), the entire system of law and government, of domestic and public institutions, was bad simply because it was different from our own. Everything that did not conform to our system was not only un-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American but anti-American. The lawyer from Massachusetts wanted the Massachusetts system, the lawyer from South Carolina the South Carolina system, and so on. The fact that one of the prosperous States of the Union is living under a civil law closely approaching the Spanish system was given no weight. The only way to make Americans of the Porto Ricans, it was argued, is to give them, without delay, the system of law of one of our States.

On the other hand, when it became a question of gradually introducing into the island American standards of political liberty and local self-government, an entirely different situation was presented. Almost every attempt to give the native population control over its own affairs, met with the disapproval of the same element that had condemned all native institutions. This seeming contradiction is traceable to the same feeling of superiority which inspired contempt for the local law. In politics, as well as in business life, we are prepared to sacrifice everything to efficiency. Owing to the inexperience of the native population, every concession to the principle of local self-government involves a temporary reduction of administrative efficiency. Here, again, the insular authorities showed themselves in advance of American opinion in the island. The representative heads of the government saw clearly that we were in Porto Rico not merely to administer a dependency, but to bring the population to a higher level of political life and to a higher standard of political efficiency. The government was not unmindful of the fact that civic progress would be more permanent, even if less rapid, if built upon native co-operation and the development of the feeling of individual responsibility.

It would take us too far afield, to discuss in the present connection the manifold problems involved in the question of local self-government. So much has been said, and so little has been really learned, of the mental and moral qualities which enable a people to assume this responsibility, that we must await the results of a broader experience in dealing with less advanced peoples before a definite answer can be given. The immediately significant and important fact which our contact with the Spanish-American civilization in the West Indies emphasizes, is the necessity of a greater elasticity of ideas, a broader sympathy, and a readiness, or at least a willingness, to understand the point of view of a people whose training, traditions and system of law are essen-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tially different from our own. Without these qualities, we shall never be able satisfactorily to solve the difficult problems of government incident to the extension of dominion over new peoples. That the change involves serious dangers no one will deny. It may lead us to a barren cosmopolitanism, which is so often the first symptom of disintegration and decay. But we are rapidly approaching, in fact we have already reached, a point at which we cannot shrink from taking the step because of the dangers involved. Everything points to the necessity of closer relations with the countries of South America. The Monroe Doctrine carries with it obligations as well as rights. The feeling of distrust towards the United States, which was so evident during the recent war, must be made to disappear through the assurance that the hegemony of the United States on the American Continent does not involve the destruction of the domestic institutions of the southern republics.

If, in our contact with foreign civilizations in the West Indies, we show a harsh, unbending spirit, this feeling of distrust will develop into an abiding hatred, which will effectually block the fulfilment of our manifest mission on the American Continent. Although the problem of government in these islands does not present great territorial importance, it involves all those political lessons which we must learn in order to meet our political duties and obligations as the leading nation of the Western Hemisphere. The real significance of the extension of American dominion in the West Indies lies not so much in the fact of territorial aggrandizement, as in the adaptation of our political ideas and standards which this expansion involves. It is this change that marks the real turning-point in our history.

The situation adds a new responsibility to the ever-increasing demands upon American citizenship—the duty of cultivating an ability to appreciate the value of alien institutions which fulfil the same ends of justice as our own. In addition, there is required the conservatism born of this comprehension, together with a firm determination to bring the new peoples with whom we may be brought into close and intimate contact, by the slow process of education, to a free and willing acceptance of all that is best in our system of law and government.

L. S. Rowe.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE FUTURE OF WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY.

BY P. T. M'GRATH.

Now that the world is satisfied of the genuineness of Marconi's recent amazing exploit of signalling across the Atlantic, the time seems opportune to examine into the practical possibilities of a scientific departure so revolutionary in its essence and development.

In considering the various aspects which the subject presents, the fundamental fact must be borne in mind, that the base upon which Marconi has superimposed this alluring aspect of his discovery is one which has stood the test of the severest criticism in recent years, and about the stability of which there is no longer any question. In other words, the theory of electrical transmission of signals through space without wire or cable, is endorsed by every electrical authority; and the practical demonstration of this theory is also admitted, up to a certain point.

Starting with these postulates, some specific conclusions are legitimate, to wit: Wireless telegraphy is possible; also, it is practicable for, say, one to two hundred miles, between ship and ship or between ship and shore. But is it practicable for two thousand miles, under such exacting conditions as must be faced if it is to become of commercial utility? This is the root-fact of the whole problem which Marconi is now attacking. The young Italian has done much to make "aërography," if I may coin a word, an undisputed success, and his name will ever be the paramount one in connection with the future of this scientific discovery. The great majority of electrical investigators accepted without question his statement that he received prearranged signals across the Atlantic, and even those who doubted him displayed such a paucity of convincing argument as to warrant the conclusion that they were lacking in sincerity.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

I may observe, for what the testimony is worth, that he permitted me to verify his statement as to the receipt of signals, by the perusal of his letters of instructions written to his assistants at Poldhu before leaving England; and, in the face of the obvious prearrangement which these revealed, to doubt his truthfulness was impossible. His later experiments on the steamer "Philadelphia" in midocean have, furthermore, proved beyond any dispute that he did receive audible signals on December 12th and 13th,—signals which, though faint, were conclusive in that they proved the theoretical feasibility of the project.

The energy required to send the electric impulses through the two thousand miles of space between Cornwall and St. John's was equivalent to thirty-eight horse-power, but still the signals were too faint to be indicated on an automatic recorder, and were only detected by means of a special telephonic apparatus, utilizing the unequalled mechanism of the human ear. Mr. Marconi, according to his public utterances, holds that the solution of the transatlantic problem (and, inferentially, of the problem of sending those electric waves circling right around the globe) is merely that of providing greater power. By doubling the power in his Cornwall station, he says, he will be able to transmit wave-beats of such energy as to actuate the recorder and tape on this side of the ocean, and thereby the efficient working of the system will be easily demonstrable. Theoretically, this may be so, and a few months may see "aërograms" daily passing between the two hemispheres; practically, however, no such result may ensue, even though signals and messages are actually transmitted. There is very considerable difference between experimental working and the giving of a regular daily service, just as there is between impelling prearranged signals from Calais to Dover, and speaking across the Atlantic. It does not in the least argue a disbelief in the genuineness of the Marconi experiments, or the future of wireless telegraphy, to venture the opinion that the world may have to wait some time yet before it sees the practical fruition of the schemes which are now being outlined in connection with this opening wonder of the twentieth century. A study of the slow and laborious processes by which inventive endeavor has attained an undisputed position in other departments of science, will disclose many instances to confirm that this new conquest of the Atlantic is not yet absolutely assured.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

To premise, let us examine a parallel case, the applicability of which must be readily admitted. In 1851, the first submarine cable was laid across the English Channel, in itself no mean undertaking; the ensuing years saw some slightly longer ones put down elsewhere, and in 1858 Cyrus Field and his colleagues achieved the epochal feat of stretching an electric cable across the Atlantic bed, between Ireland and Newfoundland. This was, in its day, as wonderful an exploit as Marconi's is now, and the nations throbbed with pleasurable hopes of the wonders it would work. This cable was constructed and laid in accordance with the best knowledge which the world possessed at the time as to electric phenomena. It was theoretically perfect, and it proved the practical feasibility of the project, in as much as it did transmit messages. But it was not commercially efficient, because it marked too vast a leap, too rapid an evolution in the mechanical features of the enterprise. It worked spasmodically for a few weeks, 271 messages were sent by it, and then it failed altogether. Queen Victoria's message of ninety words took sixty-seven minutes to transmit. This collapse gave such a set-back to trans-oceanic cable schemes that it was not until eight years later, in 1866, that a second cable was successfully put down. This one, however, had better fortune; it worked effectively, if slowly, and it proved to be of some commercial utility because the world had, in the meantime, enlarged its store of knowledge of how to make and submerge these contrivances. But it was not until the cable of 1873 was laid that the full benefits of this means of communication were realized; because, prior to that, the current suffered serious retardation on the long deep-sea wires, and it would take two minutes, on an average, to send a single word. Here we have twenty-two years between the laying of the first Channel cable and the perfecting of the same agency for transatlantic work.

The parallel of this case with Marconi's is almost complete. In 1896 he was achieving a distance of two miles with his system. On March 27th, 1899, the first wireless signals were transmitted across the English Channel. In 1900 he was doing sixty miles along the English coast, and in July, 1901, with a specially powerful apparatus, he was making intelligible practice for 225 miles, between Poldhu (Cornwall) and Crookhaven (Ireland). Then, in December, 1901, at a single bound, he leaped the Atlantic. Is it unreasonable to predict that the fate of the first Atlantic cable

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

will be that of the first aërograph, or that an extended period—months or, may be, years—must elapse before the daring young inventor conquers the difficulties which beset him?

It must not be forgotten that the whole circumstances surrounding his Newfoundland experiment were exceptional and abnormal. His ordinary apparatus does not energize for more than 180 miles under the most favorable conditions, and a comparison of the data as regards ships exchanging signals with the shore will place the average below a hundred miles. Marconi himself, on his way to England in the "Philadelphia" on January 28th, 1902, was interviewed for the press when 120 miles off the Lizard. Returning to New York by her a month later, he received visible messages when in midocean, 1,551 miles from land, but he could not signal back to the shore when 150 miles out. That may be taken as a fairer example of the efficient range of the system than the transatlantic experiment, and while he is progressing rapidly in enlarging its scope, it must be some time before ships can speak with the shore from mid-ocean.

As another illustration of the impossibility of evolving these conceptions too rapidly, let us take the famous steamship, the "Great Eastern." She was theoretically perfect, and was merely a mastodonic enlargement of existing types, and she was practically feasible because she crossed the Atlantic and laid the cable of 1866. But, as a commercial venture, she was a complete failure. She represented too fast a growth, too great a leap from one extreme to the other. The result was a brief, inglorious career, a collapse, and her ultimate disappearance in the scrap-heap. But to-day ocean-liners as large as the "Great Eastern" are making weekly trips across the Atlantic as regularly as clock-work, and commercially are the best-paying ships afloat. It has taken the world about thirty-five years to evolve the liner to that stage.

The phonograph is another instance of an invention from which great things were hoped. It has been before the world in some form for over twenty years, and yet it is still only a toy to-day, having failed to realize any of the practical purposes for which it was thought to be eminently suited. Liquid air, when it was discovered a few years ago, was heralded as one of the great discoveries of modern times; but, after tons of ink and paper had been spent in advertising its merits to an interested

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

public in two hemispheres, it vanished from sight with almost the same rapidity with which it had broken upon the scientific firmament. Dr. Koch was understood to have discovered a lymph that would cure consumption; but, unfortunately for the afflicted, his "cure" did not attain the success which was looked for.

These few instances, out of many of like nature, may serve to indicate that while men of genius are constantly discovering new forces in nature which make for the betterment of the conditions of human existence, they are not always successful in giving substantial practical form to their inventions at the first efforts. No student of modern progress doubts that, ere many years have passed, the foregoing subjects will be numbered among discoveries of assured success and daily use, but just at present they have not reached the stage when they can be said to be of an efficiency beyond question; and with these in mind, it should occasion no surprise if the Marconi system did not at once prove a competing factor in transoceanic telegraphy.

The foregoing may be regarded as illustrating the scientific difficulties in the way of the successful attainment of the objects Marconi has in view. There are also what may be termed certain mechanical difficulties, the surmounting of which will involve considerable time and ingenuity.

The Marconi electric plant at Poldhu, now developing a force equal to thirty-eight horse-power, has instruments of his devising which utilize this store of energy to the fullest advantage. But the machinery is such that, when once it is started, the operators cannot approach within several feet of it without danger of injury. When the power is doubled it must follow that the danger-zone will be enlarged, unless new devices are provided to counteract the increased force.

On the corresponding station being put in operation on this side of the Atlantic, a similar equipment must be installed, and this will not be the work of a day or a month. Following upon that there must be a series of exhaustive experiments, conducted under the most diverse circumstances, until the assurance of practical efficiency for business purposes is absolute and unquestionable. Among the difficulties which his critics assert that Marconi will have to encounter in transmitting his signals across the ocean, will be that of the confusion arising through the intermingling of the ether waves from different "sending" stations

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

on land or on shipboard. The inventor meets this criticism with the answer that his "tuning" process insures absolute accuracy and secrecy, because only instruments in syntony will be able to respond to each other. To this the critics rejoin with the fact stated in the English papers, that in the naval manœuvres of the British Channel fleet last year, Admiral Watson sat in his cabin and read every one of the enemy's messages, which were intercepted by his own ship's instrument. The Marconi explanation of steamers having the same "tune" is that they may thereby summon aid if in distress; but it has been presumed that the two opposing British squadrons had their instruments tuned differently, and, if that was the case, the successful "tapping" by one fleet of the other's messages implies a serious defect.

The weak point in Marconi's system appears to be the inability to provide properly tuned instruments, or absolute secrecy in the transmission of messages. The difficulty of controlling radiant energy in its course through the atmosphere must be appreciated by the student. As the impulses spread out in great circular whirls, they would seem liable to be caught by any number of receivers, unless the tuning were absolutely perfect; and most investigators maintain that this drawback must be faced for a long time yet. Another point which is emphasized is, that if hundreds or thousands of these electric throbs are communicated to the same space, it may be no easy matter to insure their being recorded by only the one receiver for which a certain series of waves is intended. That Marconi realizes the force of these contentions is evident from the following statement given out by him in New York in January last, before sailing for England:

"I am more confident than ever that, when it is completed, I shall give to the world, as the first result of my labors in the transmission of power without wires to great distances, a system of telegraphy capable of infinite expansion and securing the absolute privacy of the messages. I shall shortly make known a novel principle, which will to a large degree remove the popular belief that it is impossible to attain that degree of secrecy which is practicable with cables."

On his arrival in England on January 31st, he was interviewed, and asked, among other things:

"What about the opinion of experts that there is no reliability to be placed upon wireless messages, and that they can be intercepted by any one who chooses to erect a station equipped with proper instruments?"

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"That," said the inventor, "is a thing I am working upon now, with, I most firmly believe, the prospect of ultimate success."

From these admissions, and from the assertions of eminent authorities in many countries, it is clear that this feature of his system is as yet of only questionable accuracy.

Turning now to what may be called the competitive difficulty in the way, a rather serious situation will be found to present itself. Even if all the other obstacles are overcome, the fact remains that Marconi has no land connections on the American side, except a Canadian station in Cape Breton, and until he secures these, his ocean signals will serve no commercial purpose. In the British Isles, the telegraph lines are controlled by the Government, and when a ship sends messages to a Marconi station on that coast, a slight charge in addition to the Marconi tariff will insure the message being forwarded to its destination from the nearest telegraph office. But on the American side the land-lines are controlled by two great corporations—the Western Union and Postal Telegraph Companies, which also are allies of the several transatlantic cable companies. The latter "pooled" their interests some years ago to prevent ruinous rate-cutting, and they now divide the annual receipts of the whole ocean traffic in certain specified proportions among themselves. They will not take kindly to this competition of Marconi's, as the Anglo-American Cable Company made clear by its warning him out of Newfoundland, where it has exclusive rights. The land-wire companies must also see in him a formidable rival in days to come, and the two interests are more than likely to combine to prevent his obtaining any access to the American continent. In other words, he will invoke an electrical "Monroe Doctrine." He will be hamstrung if this occurs, for he will be unable to transfer his messages to the inland points for which they are destined. Clearly then, his evolution into a business enterprise in the Western Hemisphere depends upon the grace of the telegraph companies, who, if hostile to him, can erect a barrier which even wireless signals cannot leap for quite a long time. His only means of overcoming this obstacle would be to invade their territory and establish land stations in every hamlet in the United States. But this would prove to be the most difficult task that he could undertake, because the effective range of his system over land areas is only half what it is on sea, and the American con-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tinent is so dotted with telegraph offices, and so well served thereby, that his resort to such an expedient might be of dubious value.

If Marconi should venture upon the extension of his system to the other continents, and the lands beyond the seas, the competitive difficulties would be increased proportionately. Across the Atlantic Ocean are fourteen submarine cables with a total length of about 40,000 miles. Elsewhere in the world are 1755 distinct cables of all sizes and lengths, with a total mileage of 149,000 nautical miles. This makes a grand aggregate of 1,769 cables with a total length of 189,000 miles, of which all but 20,000 miles are owned and controlled by companies and corporations. It is difficult to estimate the full amount of the capital invested in these cables themselves and the subsidiary industries, such as construction-factories and repair-shops; but the London Stock Exchange estimates that British investors are interested to the extent of $100,000,000. The vastness of the cable as an institution is evident from the fact that the maintenance and repair of these submarine nerves provides constant work for forty ocean-going steamships specially equipped for the purpose, one of them—the "Anglia"—being of 6,500 tons. In Europe there are 425,600 miles of telegraph line, with 1,585,876 miles of wire strung thereon, and in the United States there are 222,587 miles of line, carrying 1,113,036 miles of wire. It will be no small matter for Marconi to face these conditions.

To suppose, then, that the cable and telegraph interests will submit to their own extinguishment in the manner inevitable from the employment of the "aërograph" along the lines indicated by the Marconi programme, is to assume that human nature has lost its chief attribute, that of self-preservation. On the contrary, is it not reasonable to conclude that the cable and wire companies will combine to fight what they regard as a common enemy, and that a financial battle rarely equalled in modern times will be the outcome of this menace by a wireless telegraph of the system at present in effective occupation of the business field?

Another consideration which must be taken into account is, that wireless telegraphy has not a distinct and unoccupied place among the scientific agencies contributing towards the world's convenience. When the electric telegraph was invented by Morse, there was a distinct and unoccupied place, an original outlet for business endeavor, for there was no other agency in existence to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

accomplish anything like its purpose. It was the same with the Atlantic cable. Prior to its being laid, the two hemispheres depended for their communication on slow-going sail-ships and scarcely faster steam-ships. A peaceful revolution in commerce and intercourse was effected when London and New York were brought within a few hours of each other by the cable, instead of being separated a full fortnight by the ships of that day. Then there was "a long-felt want," and the telegraph by land and sea supplied it. But Marconi has no such advantageous circumstances in his favor to-day. He has no fallow field of science to till, no new department of industrial effort to develop. The electric wires by land and sea meet the needs of the world very fully, and the most that Marconi's system will do is to provide a cheaper medium for the same purpose. What this will result in may be gauged by considering the respective merits of kerosene oil, illuminating gas, and electric light. The introduction of gas did not displace oil, and although the electric light is a formidable competitor, the two older accessories still continue to maintain an increasing sphere of usefulness.

Therefore, it is clear that in competing with the cables and wires Marconi will only be able to attain success through his doing the same work very much more cheaply. But against this there is the fact, that these companies have in their possession hundreds of patents for improving the speed and efficiency of their equipment, which patents they purchased at various times from impecunious inventors, and pigeon-holed to prevent their being used by rivals, or to avoid too great dislocation of existing methods of working. It is only reasonable to assume that, when Marconi's system enters the field as a claimant for commercial recognition, all these contrivances will be brought to light, and such of them turned to use as will enable the lines to work at such a speed as to neutralize the disparity now threatened. To-day it costs twenty-five cents a word for a commercial message between New York and London, and Marconi claims that he will reduce this to two cents a word. The cable companies may be trusted to make an effort to face that changed condition.

It is clear, therefore, from an impartial survey of the whole field of possible operations, that the direction in which the chief advance in wireless telegraphy must take place will be that of the ocean. Here "aërography" has a vast and undisputed sphere of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

usefulness, widening with the years and the simplifying of the apparatus, until every steamer and deep-sea sailer will be provided with this accessory; and signalling by flags, semaphores, or whistles, as now practised, will be relegated to the museums of outworn devices. The utilization, by the navies of the world, of one or other of the rival systems of wireless telegraphy of which we read from day to day, is a proof that the progressive directors of naval policy, to whom money is no object and who are ever on the alert for new devices, realize the trend of scientific activity in this respect, while the fact that the more conservative shipping companies are installing the appliances on their best liners, tends to confirm the same conclusion. One admiralty after another has adopted a wireless system, until it bids fair to become as indispensable in naval economy as the very ammunition itself.

It is needless for me to enlarge upon this aspect of the question. The world is receiving object-lessons every day in the growing efficiency of the new process of ocean communication. Of course, we are a long way yet from the time when it will be possible to keep in touch with a transatlantic liner during the whole course of her voyage, but, in view of what we have been seeing and hearing of late, who can doubt that this time is coming, surely, even if slowly? The period is rather more distant when the cargo-boat will be equipped, but that this, too, is well within the limit of achievement of the coming years, is quite as certain. The apparatus is not costly, $750 sufficing for an installation for the "Lucania" and ships of that class, and the dynamos already on board serve to charge the accumulators which give vitality to the apparatus.

Against long-distance sea-signalling at present this drawback exists: that it is impossible to provide sufficient energy to impel the formulas from the light-power stations on shipboard to the depot on land with which it is desired to communicate. For instance, with its greater stores of power, the Poldhu station, properly tuned, should be able to signal to any wirelessly-equipped craft in mid-ocean, but the latter, for lack of power, would not be able to respond thereto. Now, the chief value of the system must be in the reverse direction—in the ability of a ship to report herself at any time or under any circumstances, especially to appeal for assistance if she should be in trouble. At the present moment, about 150 miles is the record sea signal. To attain the full bene-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fits of the system, what is needed is a perfecting of the apparatus so that vibrations may be transmitted 900 miles. Then it will be possible for a ship in mid-ocean to communicate with Ireland or Newfoundland. The shortest stretch in the transatlantic highway is that between Cape Clear, on the west coast of Ireland, and Cape Race, on the east coast of Newfoundland. This is a distance of 1,760 miles, and a ship midway between could signal to the one coast and then to the other, if she had an apparatus effective for at least 880 miles. From Cape Race to Cape Cod is but 1,000 miles, and this leap would be a smaller one, because a radius of 500 miles would be ample. When the Atlantic is spanned in this fashion, ocean travel will take on a new aspect altogether, and ship will be speaking with ship and with the shore from the bosom of the rolling main, just as town speaks with town by the long-distance telephone on land.

But, interesting and novel as these aspects of ocean telegraphy are, the more utilitarian features which it presents are no less entitled to consideration. We are bidden from time to time to observe the terrible disasters which occur on shipboard from collisions, disablements, wrecks, and strandings. The "aërograph" will minimize collisions almost completely. It will enable the helpless or endangered ship to report her position and summon help, either from other ships or from the shore. It will warn craft approaching the land of the proximity of the coast and of the risks of shipwreck; it will advise them of the presence of ice-floes and bergs, of the direction of coming storms, and of changing currents, and it will be able to guide ships enveloped in fog past such danger-strewn headlands as Cape Race and Sable Island. In a word, it will undertake all the tasks now performed by the lookout, the fog whistle, the light-house, and the danger signal, and will accomplish them with far greater reliability than seems to be attainable at present.

In connection with this phase of the subject, it may be well to explain how these ends will be achieved. As an offshoot of Marconi's main system, he has devised an appliance whereby the electric rays are sent in a definite direction by means of a parabolic reflector of burnished copper. These rays are stopped by the curvature of the earth's surface, and are therefore only potent for a distance of four miles, and when the receiving reflector is in a direct line with the sending one. By a clockwork arrange-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ment, the reflectors move to and fro on a semicircular base, and as the apparatus on two ships, or on a ship and a light-house or signal station, would come into line with each other, an alarm would be given and steps could be taken to avert the danger. These signals might not be always effective, but such a provision should certainly result in very materially reducing the number of casualties at sea, which the world has to deplore with the existing imperfect safeguards against such contingencies. It is claimed by enthusiasts that the risks of ocean transit would be reduced by ninety per cent., and from what has already been demonstrated of the working of the system on the water, it is evident that as it is perfected it will give a new security to navigation, and materially lessen the terrors of those who go down to the sea in ships.

As Morse is identified with the telegraph, Field with the cable, Bell with the telephone, and Edison with the phonograph, so Marconi will be the human exemplar of wireless telegraphy. Perfection will only come in this, as in other devices which are being steadily added to the common stock of civilization's accessories, by slow and laborious advances. The system may be merely in its experimental stages, as some maintain; but it is no longer a chimera, and, though we may be years from a demonstration of its practical efficiency as a competitive enterprise, all observers agree that no obstacles are in the way which human ingenuity cannot overcome.

Therefore, all must hope that every success will attend Marconi and the other daring adventurers who are exploring this comparatively unknown scientific region. Our whole human existence is being transformed by electricity, and it is impossible to conceive of any use to which this wonderful fluid can be applied that is more pregnant with beneficial possibilities, or calculated to be a more helpful factor in advancing the existing order of the world's life, if it attains that practical success which its exponents claim is assured for it ere many years have passed.

P. T. McGrath.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE PUBLIC DEBT OF TURKEY.

BY CHARLES MORAWITZ.

So long as Turkey had, as it were, no relations with the States of Western Europe, she did not possess that particular product of civilization which is called a Public Debt. In 1854, at the time of the Crimean War, the isolation of Turkey ceased. She entered the "European Concert." She began to borrow.

I.

There are certain things which one learns very quickly, and the art of getting into debt is one of them. Hardly initiated, Turkey made rapid strides in this art. In 1854 England, her ally, facilitated a first loan of $15,000,000, and the next year, in 1855, England and France aided her, by their guarantee, to contract another loan of $25,000,000. Thereafter, the loans followed each other closely and assumed ever-increasing dimensions. The total amount of the loans issued between 1854 and 1874 was as much as $1,066,000,000!

One does not know which is the more astonishing, the wealth of France (for it is the mass of French people of moderate means which furnished the greater part of that sum), or the possibility of spending such a tremendous amount without its leaving hardly any trace whatever. Of the amount actually received by the Government—about $620,000,000—scarcely ten per cent. was devoted to works of public utility—the 1,280 kilometres of railroad constructed by M. Hirsch, and some other short lines of altogether 171 kilometres in length. To show how the other ninety per cent. was spent, one can only point to a few palaces on the banks of the Bosphorus, to an ironclad fleet which has never served, and to some beautiful private mansions near the Champs Elysées, belonging to former bankers of Galata.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At the beginning of the reign of Abdul Aziz nothing indicated what course he would adopt. The taste of the Sultan for tiny horses, musical boxes, wild animals, and especially for consols, gave but little cause for anxiety—especially as it was Ismail Pacha who ministered to it, with a view to obtaining the Firman which was to nominate him Khedive, and to convert Egypt into an autonomous state under the suzerainty of the Sultan. But after his visit to Cairo and his trip to the Paris Exhibition in 1867, Abdul Aziz became enamoured of grand palaces and iron-clad ships. There were no bounds to the extravagance of his tastes. At the time of his European tour, when he found himself on the Rhine on his way to an interview with the King of Prussia at Coblentz, he asked "whether they had dug that watercourse in his honor!" Fuad Pacha, the Grand Vizier, might perhaps have exercised the necessary influence over the Sultan; but, although a great diplomatist, he was an unsuccessful administrator. Since, moreover, the financial negotiations were far from impoverishing him, he allowed matters to take their course, and contented himself with witty criticisms upon the state of affairs.

To understand the failure of all attempts at reform, it is necessary to make an excursion into the field of philology. The character and the habits of a nation are often revealed by certain words or expressions peculiar to its language which cannot be translated into the language of another country. Do we expect to find with a nomadic people a synonym for the word "home"? Are we likely to discover among the cannibals a word expressing the "*Gemüth*" of the Germans? Do not the words "*bohême*" and "*grisette*" unveil a corner of Parisian life? Does not "sport" show the particular taste of the English for physical exercise? Does not "*Grandeza*" depict the haughty bearing of the Spaniard? In the same way, the signification of the words "*Khef*" and "*bakshish,*" which have no exact equivalent in other languages, is characteristic of the spirit and the customs of Orientals. It would be more easy to define "love" or "hate" than "*Khef*"! The "*dolce far niente*" of the Italians might give you a vague idea of its meaning; but this "*dolce far niente*" is to "*Khef*" what Cleopatra's Needle is to the Eiffel Tower, or the heights of Montmartre to the Himalayas. The Italian needs a whole phrase to indicate a certain state of indolence; a single word suffices the Oriental. The Italian phrase, moreover, indicates an action;

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the lazzarone does something. That something is nothing, indeed; but the phrase proves that he is not without any idea of action; his brain must be working, since he realizes the fact that it is sweet to do nothing. *Khef,* on the contrary, is the complete oblivion of everything. It is the absence of every desire. It is beatitude in idleness, resignation in decay. *Khef* is a state of indifference produced by fatalism, a condition of the most absolute immobility. *Khef* impassively contemplates science and progress modifying the conditions of social life in the rest of the universe. Why change, since all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds?

To this psychological cause of repugnance to all innovation we must add, especially as regards modifications in administration, one of a more material nature which finds its expression in the word "*bakshish.*" Bakshish is the "tip" of Western nations; but it is not degrading like the latter; there is something legal about it. A gift, in the East, has an importance unknown elsewhere.

Formerly, the officials of the Turkish Government received no salary; hence the bakshish acquired official sanction; it began to partake of the character of a tax. The duty of the taxpayer is to provide for the needs of the functionaries; why, then, follow a roundabout way, by making the money of the taxpayer go to the State, so that the latter may distribute it afterwards!

In 1838 the Grand Vizier Rechid Pacha, recognizing the serious defects of this system, decreed that officials were henceforth to be paid by the State. A continual succession of wars prevented the strict application of this reform; the simplest means of freeing oneself from the care of finding money for salaries was, of course, to return to the old system of not paying them at all. This measure, therefore, failed to produce any effect.

A financial system working under such conditions, with annual loans, with an enormous increase of annual charges, with a body of officials hostile to every reform and possessing little or no knowledge of accounts, was inevitably fated to result in disaster.

Thanks to the intrigues of General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador, Mahmoud Pacha, an ignorant and corrupt individual, who had already been Grand Vizier in 1871-1872, returned to power in 1875. Five weeks after his appointment, Turkey issued a declaration of insolvency. Nor did it come alone. An internal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

crisis and a foreign war followed closely upon it, and rendered any financial arrangement impossible. The troubles which broke out in Herzegovina and Bosnia were followed on the 4th of May, 1876, by a rising in Bulgaria; two days later the French and German Consuls were assassinated at Salonica; on the 10th of May a manifestation of Softas (theological students) took place at Constantinople, which brought about the fall of Mahmoud Pacha; on the 29th of May Abdul Aziz was dethroned and replaced by the eldest of the family, Murad; four days later, Abdul Aziz died suddenly. Murad, who was of a feeble and nervous disposition, fearing that he might be suspected of having ordered the assassination, went mad six days after his accession. On the 15th of June, two ministers, Hussein-Avni and Rechid Pacha, were assassinated during the meeting of the Council. While these tragic events were taking place in the capital, Servia and Montenegro declared war. An extraordinary enthusiasm manifested itself in Russia for the deliverance of her Slavonic brethren. Gladstone, in opposition to Disraeli's Cabinet, conducted a vehement oratorical campaign against the Turks; Murad, not recovering his reason, was deposed after a reign of three months. Such were the circumstances in which Abdul Hamid mounted the throne on the 31st of August, 1876.

The war with Servia continued, while in the following year hostilities began with Russia. On the 3rd of March, 1878, the Treaty of Peace between Russia and Turkey was signed at San Stefano, and on the 13th of June a European Congress assembled at Berlin. The Treaty which resulted from the deliberations of the Powers deprived Turkey of several of her provinces, and imposed upon her a heavy war indemnity. It promised her, on the other hand, that the minor neighboring States, which had aggrandized themselves at her expense, should be responsible for a part of her national debt. But the diplomatists, who have always given proof of an excellent memory for demanding from the Sultan the execution of all his engagements, have completely forgotten to oblige Bulgaria, Servia, and Greece, to keep theirs.

It appeared as though, after all the accumulated disasters arising from a long series of revolts and wars, there was not much hope for the holders of Turkish bonds. Now, it is from this epoch that the recovery of Ottoman Finances dates.

As soon as calm was re-established, negotiations were entered

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

upon between the creditors and the Government. They were lengthy, but successful. On the 8th (20th) December, 1881 (the 28th Mouharrem, 1299, according to the Turkish Calendar), a decree was promulgated, known by the name of *"Décret de Mouharrem,"* constituting *"l'Administration de la Dette Publique Ottomane."* A new era is about to begin.

II.

By the Decree of Mouharrem, the capital of the debt, reduced to the average rate of issue, is fixed at the figure of $532,186,170. For interest and the extinction of the debt, the following revenues are ceded by the Government to the shareholders—the salt and tobacco monopolies, the stamp duties, duties on spirits, fisheries and the silk-tithe, the produce of duties on Tumbeki (tobacco for smoking in narghilehs), the dues of Eastern Roumelia, the surplus of the Cyprus revenues, the Bulgarian tribute, the surplus of the Custom House receipts resulting from a modification of taxes in case of revision of the Commercial Treaties, and the surplus of the revenue which should accrue from the general application of the law on licenses.

The management of these revenues belongs to a Council of Administration composed of seven members, six of whom are nominated by the Committees of Paris, London, Vienna, Berlin, Rome, and Constantinople, the seventh by the holders of preference shares.

The arrangements of the Decree of Mouharrem as regards the application of the revenues to the interest and gradual extinction of the debt are decidedly complicated. I will content myself with mentioning the most essential points.

On the net proceeds of the revenues is charged, first of all, the sum necessary to pay the interest on the priority bonds, in payment of certain floating debts. Four-fifths of the balance of revenue are appropriated for the payment of interest, and the remaining fifth to the gradual extinction of the debt.

For the purpose of the extinction of the debt the Decree divides the loans into four groups, according to the guarantees originally attached to them, and stipulates that, after paying one per cent. of the aforesaid capital on account of interest, the surplus is to be applied to the extinction of debt of group I., after that of group II., etc. The Decree organizes a kind of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hierarchy among the four groups. It constructs, as it were, a reservoir of four levels, the first of which lets its overflow run into the second, of which the second pours its excess into the third, and so on.

A special arrangement has been adopted for the premium bonds (called "Turkish Lots"), which were created in 1870 for the construction of railways. All the amounts accruing from that loan are to serve for payment of securities which have been drawn by lot, and payment of interest must not take place before the sums available will allow of reimbursement of the securities drawn to the full amount stipulated by the plan of the extinction of the debt. This loan is gradually extinguished in the following manner: In the six annual drawings, 300 shares are drawn, to which premiums are ascribed varying from $120,000 to $200. The amount annually required for the payment of the premiums is $720,000 up to the year 1910, and $465,000 after that date. There are besides drawn, at the rate of $80, an annually increasing number of shares which this year stands at 4,750. At the time of the creation of the new administration, the amounts available made it possible to pay at the rate of 58 per cent. for the shares drawn. In 1888 certain sums which had become available for this loan would have permitted of payment at a much higher rate. But they continued to pay only 58 per cent. by mere force of habit, employing the available surplus in buying up shares at the Bourse. This measure, provisionally adopted thirteen years ago, still continues to be applied.

The Austro-Hungarian Committee adopted in 1893 a plan for the regulation of this question of Turkish allotments. This plan, after having received the approval of the Council and of all the Committees of the Public Debt, has been approved by the Ministry of Finance, the Council of State, and the Council of Ministers. But the Sultan has not ratified it. He nominated one Commission after another to study the problem, and although every one of these Commissions has given a favorable opinion, their reports continue to slumber in the Palace archives.

For the first time a situation is thus revealed which had been suspected for a long time, but which had not yet manifested itself in such a flagrant manner to the eyes of the general public: the realization of the fact that the Sublime Porte (that is to say the Grand Vizierate), the Ministers, and the whole apparatus of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Government only exist in appearance, and that the immense Ottoman Empire is governed, like Spain under Philip II., in the Cabinet of the Sovereign, assisted by a few Secretaries.

The Decree of Mouharrem has been in force for the last nineteen years and has produced excellent results. The taxes, the direct administration of which belongs to the Council, brought in at the time of the creation of the Council of the Debt a gross annual revenue of $5,368,000; they represent to-day $9,154,000. By deducting the charges of collection and administration, and by adding the surplus revenues of Cyprus and the Tumbeki duties, they have reached, for 1900-1901, a net total of $9,512,000 available for the service of the debt. This sum comprises the dues paid by the "*Régie des Tabacs*," founded in 1883, and to which the Council of Administration leased the exploitation of its tobacco monopoly for a fixed annuity of $3,450,000. If one considers the results of Tobacco Monopolies in other countries, that of

France	yielding	$65,600,000	for a population of	38,227,000
Italy	yielding	29,200,000	for a population of	31,479,000
Austria	yielding	17,300,000	for a population of	26,107,000
Hungary	yielding	12,300,000	for a population of	19,203,000

the Turkish Monopoly, affecting a number of inhabitants which can be estimated at a minimum of fourteen millions, and taking into account that certain provinces are subject to special conditions, ought to bring in between 24 and 8½ millions of dollars, *i.e.*, 24 millions if the consumption of tobacco be reckoned on the basis of the amount consumed per head of the population in France; 8½ millions if the calculation be based on the consumption per head in Hungary. These scanty results of the Turkish Monopoly may be explained by the contraband trade, and are all the more significant as, in the other countries, at the most, one inhabitant in five is a smoker, whilst in Turkey even the women and children smoke all day.

The sphere of operation of the Council for the administration of the Public Debt has been enlarged since 1881. The Council is no longer solely a kind of trustee for the payment of interest on the debt guaranteed by the Decree of Mouharrem. It collects other revenues; it is charged with paying the interest on other loans. This extension of the Council's functions was brought about in the following manner.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Encouraged by the smooth working of the Administration of the Public Debt, the Deutsche Bank of Berlin made an offer to the Government in 1888 to undertake the construction of a railway in Asia Minor. Supported by the German Emperor, who understands how to use the political influence of his country in the interests of commerce, the Deutsche Bank stipulated that the tithes of certain provinces appropriated as a guarantee for the receipts of the line were to be administered by the Council of the Public Debt. The Council accepted this responsibility. The example of the Deutsche Bank was followed upon an extensive scale. Within the space of eight years, eleven important concessions have been granted, all being based on the administration of the guarantees by the Council; six of these concessions refer to the construction of railways; five relate to loans, three of which are based upon a recently borrowed capital of $45,000,000; one has for its object the conversion of five per cent. priority bonds into four per cent. consols; one concerns the collection of tithes given as a guarantee for the war indemnity due to Russia. The length of the railway lines conceded by the six contracts referred to above amounts to 2,315 kilometres.

In 1899-1900 the sum to be paid by the Government on account of these guarantees amounted to $4,140,000.

In consequence of all these contracts, the Council has been gradually induced to collect, by right of these new attributes, State revenues representing an annual sum of about $9,000,000, this being about the same amount as that which it collects in carrying out the Decree of Mouharrem. With its 720 agencies and 5,000 employés the Council has assumed a great importance in the country. Thanks to the admirable organization which it has introduced, the credit of the Empire has been strengthened; the establishment of new railroads, facilitated by its co-operation, has opened vast territories to trade which formerly were almost without communication with the rest of the world.

III.

Outside the sphere of administration of the Council of the Debt, another part of Turkish Finance is administered directly by the Malié (Ministry of Finance). The contrast between the two is striking. On one side we have the methods and organization of modern States, on the other the old Turkish régime main-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tained with little modification up to the end of the nineteenth century. A superficial examination would convey the impression that the post of Malié Naziri (Minister of Finance) is rather enviable than otherwise. This functionary, unlike his colleagues in Parliamentary countries, has not the trouble of submitting his anticipatory Budgets and his accounts of administration to a Parliament. He is free from the dread of seeing some member cut down grants which he considers indispensable, or on the contrary, impose upon him expenses which he regards as superfluous. He is also sheltered from the anxiety which ordinarily spoils the pleasures of office of the Ministers of Finance of countries whose affairs are not upon a sound basis—the nightmare of payments falling due at a certain date!

Since 1881, the Administration of the Public Debt has freed him from this task, at least to a great extent. What is incumbent upon the Malié is the payment of the Sultan's Civil List, of the contracts for armaments supplied, and of the Army and of the Civil Service. The Civil List, that is the chief thing! It figures at the head of the charges, and amounts to $4,000,000. As to the rest, the Minister need not be in a hurry to provide for them. The contractors for armaments make great profits; they have certainly made allowance in their calculations for the risk of having to wait a long time for their money; they would not like to see the door shut in their faces the next time that orders were given, through their pressing too much for payment. The officials are used to their salaries not arriving in time; they do not count upon them very much, and look for other resources. The soldier in Turkey has a broad back and especially a good digestion; a little rice and a great deal of tobacco, so easily procured in these times of monopoly, suffice him. Suppose that the Government already owes him for five months' pay; this month he is also not paid; that makes six months' pay which he will have to receive, and that will make a round sum!

The Malié is charged, among other duties, with the examination of new financial combinations proposed to the Government. This part of his task is neither the easiest nor the least disagreeable. The list of schemes which are being examined is very long; if all were realized, the era of the golden age would cease to be a fable for Turkey. There is not a thing out of which the Greek and Armenian financiers who are always hanging about

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Malié do not know how to make money. They prove to the Government that the war indemnity due to Russia could procure it several hundred thousand pounds by making it the object of a loan; they offer to establish monopolies on every imaginable article; they propose to buy back the different railroads of European Turkey and, by economies to be effected by centralizing their working, to find security for a loan of £2,000,000. Men of established position and abilities have taken up this question, which, however, encounters many obstacles. Everything, moreover, in this country is difficult and complicated. If the Government wants to raise the lighthouse dues, England objects; if it wants to create a monopoly on cigarette paper or playing-cards, France or Austria-Hungary puts a spoke in the wheel. If it is a question of petroleum Russia will raise objections, and even the Powers which are the least interested make their consent to any point whatsoever depend upon the settlement of such or such a question. We have lately seen the Americans protesting against the prohibition of importing salt pork, and all the Powers opposing the raising of the customs duties.

Among questions under examination at the Ministry of Finance two may be specially cited which will immediately be the subject of important negotiations.

The proposed increase of customs duties from 8 to 11 per cent. is estimated to yield from two to two and a half million dollars a year; by rights, this sum ought to serve for the increase of interest on the debt managed by the Council of Administration. Now this rise in interest would entail an increase of the rate of redemption of the debt, and it would be really exacting too much from the Government to request it to make efforts to obtain an increase of income merely to see the extinction of the debt rendered more onerous. A combination is therefore being sought for by which it may be possible to give up part of this new revenue to the Government, a part which, according to existing plans, would serve as basis of a loan for the continuation of the great Asiatic railway line towards Bagdad.

The other scheme relates to the conversion of the loans existing under the administration of the Decree of Mouharrem. The enactments of this Decree have the effect of maintaining the guarantees intact until the complete extinction of all the loans for which they serve as security. In the case of the other loans,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

when a portion of the security is liberated by reason of the redemption of a considerable amount, it is possible to make use of it as security for a new demand upon the national credit; under the administration of the Decree, however, it is not possible to proceed in this manner with the securities appropriated to the converted debt. These latter, forming an indivisible whole, are not liberated in succession; but immediately on the redemption of the last of the shares under the control of the Council, the Government will be empowered to dispose of the whole of the securities at once. The scheme of conversion intended to remedy this situation, which is very unfavorable to the Government, is based upon the idea of offering to the holders a much higher fixed rate of interest than that which they receive at present, while continuing the same guarantees. This offer would be made in exchange for their profits resulting from the important purchases effected for purposes of extinction, which take the form of a gradual increase in value.

The Malié does not, as is the case in other countries, concentrate in his hands all the disbursements by the State. The Council of Ministers decides upon the amount of the sum to be expended by each Department, and the Malié hands over to his colleagues assignments for that amount on the different revenues of the State. These assignments are given by the Ministers in payment to contractors and sometimes even to officials; as they are payable in countries the most distant from each other, they are necessarily the object of continual traffic; their value fluctuates, and their more or less prompt cashing depends on the greater or lesser ability which the holder displays in getting them honored at the various provincial treasuries. One can imagine the abuses, robberies and jobberies to which this system must give rise.

We have seen that it is the Council of the Public Debt which is charged with paying the interest on the money borrowed by the State, by means of certain revenues which are conceded to it. But there are exceptions. Several loans are outside the jurisdiction of the Council, and the Minister of Finance is the authority who provides for the payment of their interest. The list of these loans comprises the loans guaranteed by the Egyptian tribute, and two loans created in capitalization of the returns due from the Tumbeki Society and from the "*Compagnie des chemins de*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fer de la Turquie d'Europe," returns also paid by their debtors direct to the banks to which is entrusted the payment of the interest. The only loan whereof the payment of interest falls directly upon the Malié, is the five per cent. 1886 loan of $29,575,000.

IV.

If we take a comprehensive view of the financial situation of the Ottoman Empire, we see that it presents itself as follows: a past, burdened with very grave mistakes and with which it was necessary to break, left Turkey with a Consolidated Debt of $522,607,000 guaranteed by the revenues controlled by the Council of the Debt.

This is a considerable amount. But the burden which it imposes appears heavier than it really is. The rate of interest being only one per cent., the yearly allowance necessitated by the dividends is not high, and thanks to the stipulation which appropriates for the gradual extinction of the debt a part of the proceeds of the conceded revenues, as well as the interest due on securities already redeemed, thanks also to the arrangement which allows repurchase at the Stock Exchange instead of redemption of the nominal capital, the Consolidated Debt diminishes very fast, in geometrical progression. In the first nine financial years, 3.978 per cent. of the debt was discharged, in the next nine financial years 12.692 per cent. The total extinction of debt thus amounts to $96,415,000 or 18.45 per cent. on the 1st (13th) March, 1901. Another portion of the debt amounting to a capital of $90,200,000 is guaranteed by the Egyptian tribute, and is therefore not a burden which really weighs heavily on Turkey.

Besides the debts which have been mentioned, there remains a capital of about $90,000,000 of various loans and of Floating Debt, and further, the annuity of $1,600,000 to be paid to Russia as war indemnity. One cannot say that the annual sacrifices necessitated by these liabilities are out of proportion to the resources of the Ottoman Empire.

The sums which Turkey has paid from her own revenues since the new era of the Administration of the Public Debt exceed by $276,000,000 the amount borrowed by her during the same period; and, as regards the capital of the debt, a far larger sum has been paid off than that which was borrowed on the other

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

hand. There are many States generally regarded as being in a highly prosperous condition, of which as much could not be said.

Of course, there is another side to the question. If we consider that portion of the finances dependent upon the Malié, and not under the power of the Council of the Debt, subjects of criticism are not wanting. The system of direct taxes recalls our Middle Ages; the assessment is arbitrary, while the method of collection is disgraceful. The Budget only exists upon paper; officials are paid in the most irregular manner, and creditors not possessing guarantees acknowledged by the Council of the Debt are often obliged to wait a long time for their money. When they are foreigners, and when the diplomatic Powers who look after their interests end by losing patience in consequence of repeated adjournments, crises arise like that which recently broke out between France and Turkey. Respect for a fixed time of payment is a notion absolutely foreign to the Ottoman intelligence, which has an instinct as well as a taste for petty expedients, subterfuges and deferments until the morrow or the following week. But one must not exaggerate the importance and gravity of the incidents which arise. On the whole, with more or less good-will, after more or less delay, under more or less energetic pressure, Turkey pays what she owes. Tergiversation injures her good financial reputation, and brings her absolutely no profit, except the necessity of paying large sums as interest for the delay. She would render her own credit a signal service if she would henceforth abstain from seeking to elude, by means of subtleties and vain promises, the execution of the engagements which she has contracted, and if she would seek to inspire foreign capitalists with complete confidence, and thus attract them towards the exploitation of her immense agricultural and mineral resources. Many portions of her territory were formerly counted among the most fertile and the richest of the world, especially the west of Asia Minor, Syria, and the regions watered by the Euphrates and the Tigris. To restore their former prosperity, the Turkish Government need not spend hundreds of millions on public works; there are certainly useful works to be undertaken, ports and railways to be established, but this must be done by proceeding methodically, by not doing too much at a time, and by not entering upon fresh and too onerous engagements.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The best and the most necessary guarantee and the most efficacious attraction which Turkey could offer to the capitalists of Europe and America is the organization of what it most needs: a good administration, an independent and impartial judicature, and the most absolute security for human life and property.

We must, at any rate, do justice to the financial management of the Ottoman Empire in its relations with the creditors of the State since the great reform of 1881. It has been one of perfect honesty, and that under very difficult circumstances. Who cannot call to mind the position of Turkey between 1895 and 1897? After the cholera epidemic, troubles and insurrection broke out in Armenia; the monetary crisis, provoked all over Europe by senseless speculation in gold mines, was exploited in Constantinople by political agitators who organized a run on the Ottoman Bank; the financial markets of Western Europe were seriously disturbed, and a four months' *moratorium* was decreed at Constantinople; the Asiatic Provinces were in a state of extreme agitation, and in Constantinople an attack was made by armed force on the Ottoman Bank. In 1897 came the Cretan insurrection and the declaration of war by Greece.

In less than six weeks the Turkish Government assembled 200,000 men in Thessaly and Epirus. There are few countries which, in presence of such extraordinary circumstances, would not have hesitated to invoke reasons of State for reducing or suspending the payment of interest on their debt. Turkey resisted every temptation of the kind. During that terribly agitated period, the interest on the debt was regularly paid; the gradual extinction of debt by drawing lots took place as usual, and the Council of the Public Debt calmly continued its operations. It redeemed in 1894-95 at the Paris and London Exchanges shares of the four series to the value of $5,860,000, in 1895-96 to the value of $5,616,000, in 1896-97 to the value of $6,080,000 and 35,633 lots, and it continues to increase the reserve funds for the augmentation of interest by $891,000.

"The Sick Man," as the Czar Nicholas used to call him, is in many respects subjected to very bad medical treatment, but the patience of his presumptive heirs is perhaps still to be exposed to a long trial; he has given in the last few years, especially in financial matters, conclusive proofs of vigor and vitality.

CHARLES MORAWITZ.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE CITY OF DALLAS.

THE MANUFACTURING, JOBBING, AND FINANCIAL CENTRE OF TEXAS.

The city of Dallas is located on the east bank of the Trinity River, in the wealthiest and most populous county of Texas, and about 500 feet above sea level, and is the central point of a thickly settled district, comprising the famous black waxy land belt of Texas.

The population, including suburbs, is 72,263, and is a very cosmopolitan one, nine-tenths of it being white; and this character of population prevails in the surrounding county.

LOOKING WEST ON MAIN STREET.

The climate is most salubrious, temperate, and semitropical; the rainfall varies between 28 and 36 inches, January and February being the winter months, the temperature seldom going below zero, and in midsummer rarely above 100, owing to the trade-winds from the Gulf, which make the nights always pleasant. No epidemic has ever visited the city, and rigid statistics

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

show the death rate to be for the past ten years only eleven per thousand inhabitants. The tax rate is $1.65 on the $100, including school taxes. Assessed values are $23,984,000. The net bonded indebtedness is $1,692,000. The value of the city public property is $2,903,148. Its water-works alone would sell for more than enough to pay its entire debt. Her 4-per-cent. bonds sell at par, and the city has no floating debt.

Dallas has four national banks, with deposits aggregating more than $10,000,000 and annual clearances of $160,000,000. Dallas has been designated by the Comptroller of Currency as a reserve city on the basis of having more than 50,000 population. Besides national banks, there are one private bank and a number of saving and loan companies.

Dallas stands at the head as a publishing centre, and numbers fifty-five newspapers and periodicals—three and one-half tons of newspapers and magazines being handled through the post-office daily.

The water-supply is abundant and good. The city water-works, taking its supply from the river, has a present pumping capacity of 19,000,000 gallons per day. Artesian water is found in abundance, twenty-two artesian wells having been sunk in the past few years, some of them flowing, and all affording fine water for drinking and manufacturing purposes. The city has just completed an additional storage reservoir with more than a billion gallons' capacity, and is systematically perfecting one of the best water-works plants in the Southwest.

Dallas has sixty miles of electric street railway, three electric companies furnishing power and light, and one gas company with sixty miles of gas mains.

The transportation facilities of Dallas are good, having six railroads radiating in eleven directions, with sixty passenger trains arriving and departing each day, and two additional trunk lines now building. Having railroads is one advantage, and being the centre of a fertile country with more than a million consumers is another, and yet Dallas possesses, beyond dispute, both of these. Dallas is in the centre of the most productive and most thickly populated area of Texas. Within the thirty-five counties surrounding it (out of 243 in the State) is a black-waxy district of 28,980 square miles, or 10.9 per cent. of the State's area. Within this circle is 36.2 per cent. of the State's population, 33.9 per cent. of the assessed values, 28.8 per cent. of the railroad mileage of the State, 32.2 per cent. of the cities, towns, and villages, and 60 per cent. of the total number of business houses. In the same counties are produced 40 per cent. of the cotton of the State, and a like proportion of wheat, oats, and corn. Dallas has more telephones in service than any other Texas city. It is the centre of the long-distance telephone business, and has about as many circuits as Chicago.

The educational and religious facilities of Dallas are unsurpassed, there being fifty-nine schools and colleges. Among the schools are four seminaries for young ladies, a musical conservatory, a school of oratory, two schools of medicine, four business colleges, two boys' academies, besides numerous private schools. Dallas prides herself on her public free schools as being equal to any in the country. There are thirteen public free school buildings, including the High School building, nine of which are for white children and four for colored children. These buildings are of brick and stone, substantial and attractive in appearance, and cost, with furniture and equipment, $350,000. There are now over 7,000 children enrolled in the public schools. These public schools are supported by an appropriation from the State school fund amounting annually to about $80,000, augmented by a special tax of 22½ cents on the $100. The High School has a special income of its own, yielding about $11,000 per annum. There are two free kindergarten associations doing splendid work.

A handsome public library, well equipped, a Young Men's Christian Association building, and other free reading rooms, sixty churches, and numbers of every variety of social, literary, artistic, musical, and athletic associations, besides benevolent organizations of every character.

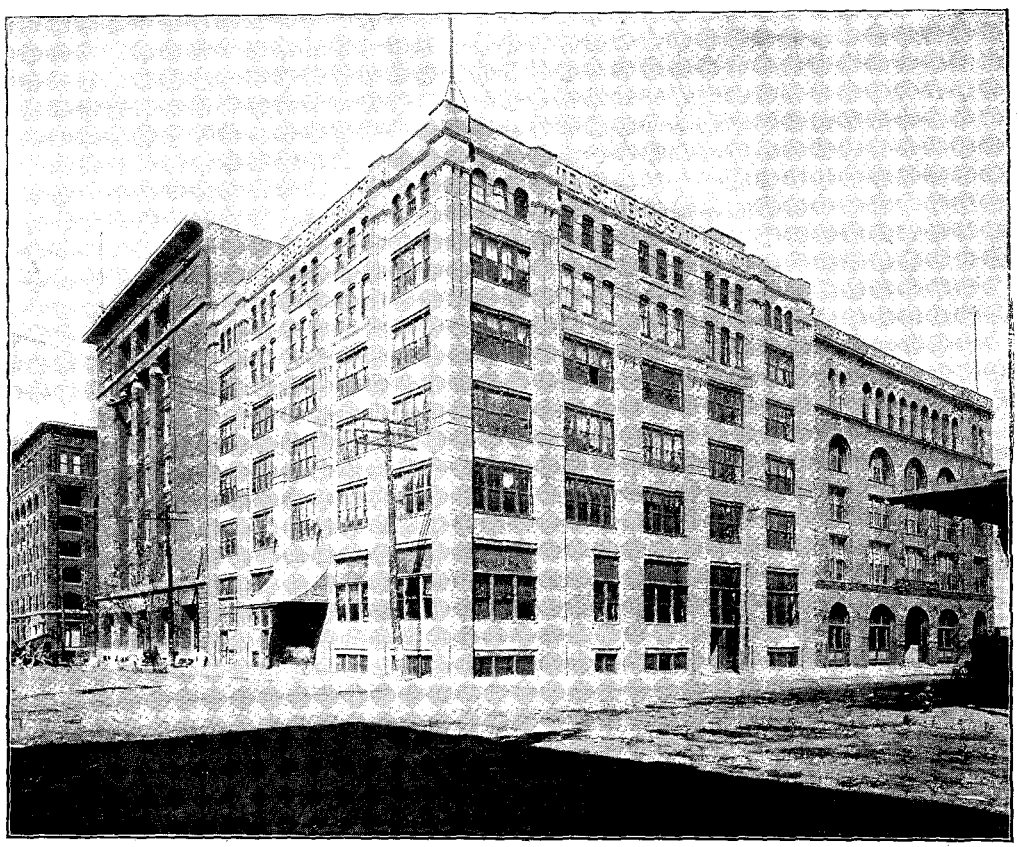
The fire and life insurance headquarters for the State are located at Dallas, all the State and general agents being here, transacting from Dallas a large business with Louisiana, Arkansas, Oklahoma, and Indian Territories.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At Dallas is held annually the Texas State Fair, the largest of its kind in the United States, the attendance last year being 273,428.

Dallas leads the world as a distributing point for agricultural implements, machinery, and vehicles, business in this line running over $15,000,000 annually. All the manufacturers of these lines have constructed extensive, costly, and commodious buildings at Dallas to accommodate this immense and growing trade.

The volume of the wholesale business of Dallas is over $40,000,000 annually. It is the leading city of the United States for the manufacture of cotton-gin machinery, as well as the manufacture of harness and saddlery goods. It has the largest wholesale dry goods house south of



A TYPICAL BUSINESS BLOCK, DALLAS, TEXAS.

St. Louis, the largest wholesale grocery house in Texas, and the largest wholesale saddlery house in the world. As a recognition of its excellent trade facilities a number of wholesale houses have recently located here.

Dallas's big postal business is one of the best indications of the city's business and energy. It exceeds that of any other two cities in Texas combined, and is larger than many cities throughout the country which greatly exceed Dallas in population. The gross receipts of the Dallas post-office exceeds that of Worcester, Mass., Grand Rapids, Mich., Jersey City, N. J., Syracuse, N. Y., Portland, Ore., Nashville, Tenn., and Los Angeles, Cal. It is conceded that the postal receipts of a city are the most reliable measure of its business.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The improvement of the Trinity River, now assured (Congress having made a large appropriation at this session), and Dallas being at the head of navigation, offers superior inducements to manufacturers by reason of its central location, its distributing features, and its proximity to raw material. Bordering on the Trinity River are vast tracts of timber land, and it is estimated that there are two million acres of fine hard woods, pine, and cypress. There are also vast beds of coal, iron, clay, and stone of various kinds. The report of the United States Government Engineers states that the outcroppings of brown or lignite coal were found in numerous places covering a distance of 200 miles, the veins running from three to twenty feet thick, and that iron was found for eighty miles, which would carry 5,000,000 tons to the square mile. The improvement of the river will make Dallas a basing point, and must add greatly to her present prestige as a distributing and manufacturing centre, besides opening up to her trade a vast area of the finest farming land, heretofore inaccessible for want of transportation facilities.

Dallas has now 180 distinct manufacturing concerns, all prospering and growing. With bituminous coal fifty miles west and lignite fifty miles east, and the finding of fuel oil in different parts of the State and within sixty miles of Dallas, the problem of cheap fuel is solved.

Practical experts have stated that Dallas could produce steel and iron cheaper than Chicago, Pittsburg, or Birmingham, for the ore and lime are nearer to Dallas and cheaper of extraction. Soft ores are found in abundance within 120 miles, and the highest grade of hard ore within a short distance.

The ores of Llano County, 350 miles from Dallas, are said to have no equal except the ores of Siberia. Birmingham gets her hard ores from Lake Superior, more than 1,000 miles further than Dallas to Llano.

The hotel accommodations are the best in the State. There are six brick hotels, all within a few blocks of the depots. These hotels are the Oriental, one of the finest and most commodious hotels in the Southwest; the Grand Windsor, a spacious four-story structure covering nearly a block, and facing four streets; the St. George, running through from Main to Commerce streets, four stories high, and recently remodelled; the McLeod, an immense six-story building; the Adelphia, a three-story brick building; the Arlington, a three-story brick, and in addition there are others of from twenty to thirty rooms each, while the city directory shows twenty-eight hotels, distinctly classed as such.

Dallas is the convention city of the Southwest. As an instance of her ability to care for a large assembly, she points with pride to the manner in which she handled the Confederate Reunion, which brought over 150,000 visitors, who were cared for in a highly creditable and satisfactory manner. On the Fair Grounds she has a convention hall capable of seating 12,000 people, within ten minutes' ride from the centre of the city, besides other halls and places for meetings.

Dallas, though yet a young city, is growing rapidly. Last year's building permits nearly doubled that of 1900; 892 building permits were issued in 1901, at an estimated value of $2,550,000. Notwithstanding this activity, there are few vacant houses, the demand keeping ahead of the supply.

The city's welfare is ably looked after by the Dallas Commercial Club, an organization composed of the prominent and progressive business men of Dallas, a live and wide-awake association who will cheerfully give desired information relative to their city. Through its influence capital has been secured, new enterprises started and fostered, until to-day there is not another city of its size in the United States which can compare with it in commercial and industrial importance.

JOHN G. HUNTER,
Secretary Commercial Club.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WEBER PIANOS

That which gives the Weber Piano its charm, its real worth apart from the quality of the materials which enter into its construction, and the artistic beauty of its exterior, is its *pure, rich, and sympathetic tone,* in the *possession of which it stands alone*

WEBER WAREROOMS

108 FIFTH AVE., NEW YORK 266 WABASH AVE., CHICAGO

Monmouth Trust and Safe Deposit Co.

ASBURY PARK, N. J.

Capital, ... $100,000
Surplus and Undivided Profits, 32,000

Acts as Registrar and Transfer Agent for any company incorporated under the Laws of the State of New Jersey.

Transacts a General Trust and Banking Business

A. C. TWINING, President
D. C. CORNELL, Treasurer

SUFFERERS FROM

Dyspepsia AND OTHER Stomach Troubles

CAN FIND QUICK RELIEF

by using

"Glycozone"

an **absolutely harmless** germicide. It subdues the inflammation of the mucous membrane of the stomach, thus removing the cause of the disease, and effects a cure.

For any stomach trouble it will do good and generally cure.

Used and recommended by leading physicians.

FREE I will send by mail on receipt of 20c., to cover **actual postage,** a liberal sample, that will prove the claims I make to your entire satisfaction. This preparation cannot harm you, and in most cases gives wonderful results. Address

PROF. CHAS. MARCHAND, 59 Prince St., N.Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

From the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*

FOR nearly nine decades THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has served, to an extent unequalled by any other periodical, as a medium of communication between the influential thinkers of America and their countrymen. Not only this, but when the great thinkers of Europe have had, or thought they had, a message of importance to America, the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW has been, in the greater number of instances, the medium through which the message has been conveyed. To enumerate the contributors to its pages would be like calling the roll of the earth's intellectual leaders during the world's most progressive era.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Schlitz

THE BEER THAT MADE MILWAUKEE FAMOUS

Beer is barley-malt and hops---a food and a tonic. Just a touch of alcohol in it.

Not a beverage known to man is more healthful, if the beer is right.

'Tis the national beverage, from childhood up, with the sturdiest peoples of the earth.

To the weak, it's essential; to the strong it is good.

BUT— the beer must be pure.

Impurity means germs, and germs multiply rapidly in any saccharine product like beer.

And the beer must be old.

Age means perfect fermentation. Without it, beer ferments on the stomach, causing biliousness.

Schlitz beer is brewed in absolute cleanliness.

It is cooled in a plate glass room, in filtered air.

Then it is filtered; then aged for months in refrigerating rooms. After it is bottled and sealed every bottle is sterilized.

Not a germ can exist in it.

These costly precautions have made Schlitz the standard for purity wherever beer is known.

You can get it just as well as common beer if you ask for it.

Ask for the Brewery Bottling.

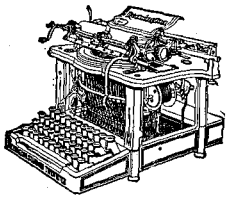
PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Wearing Points

are the best

"SELLING POINTS"

On its wearing points ALONE the

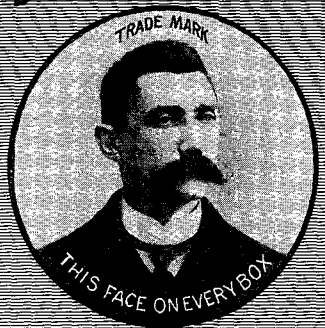


REMINGTON TYPEWRITER

outsells every other writing machine

Wyckoff, Seamans & Benedict
(Remington Typewriter Company)
327 BROADWAY ✦ ✦ NEW YORK

MENNEN'S
BORATED TALCUM



TOILET POWDER

Delightful After Bathing. A Luxury After Shaving. Beautifies and Preserves the Complexion.
A positive relief for **PRICKLY HEAT, CHAFING** and **SUNBURN**, and all afflictions of the skin. For sore, blistered and sweaty feet it has no equal. Removes all odor of perspiration. Get **MENNEN'S** (the original), *a little higher in price, perhaps, than worthless substitutes, but there is a reason for it.*
Sold everywhere, or mailed for **25** cents. (*Sample free.*)
GERHARD MENNEN CO., Newark, N. J.

COLORADO
AND RETURN
$25

First-class Round-trip Tickets Chicago to Denver, Colorado Springs and Pueblo on sale August 1 to 14, 23 and 24 and August 30 to September 10, and only $31.50 on other dates. All tickets good to return until October 31. Correspondingly low rates from other points; favorable stop-over arrangements. Only two nights en route from New York and one night from Chicago to Denver by the

Colorado Special.

The best of everything.

Chicago, Union Pacific and North-Western Line.

All agents sell tickets via the

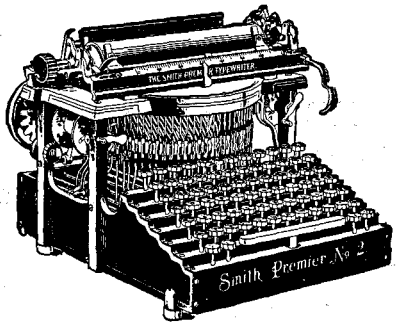
CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN AND UNION PACIFIC RYS.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

American Success Series

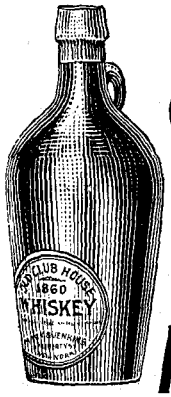
Mr. CHARLES S. FEE
General Passenger Agent of the Northern Pacific Railway, began his railroad work as an expert stenographer.

"Improvement the order of the age"
Trained thought and skilled labor, joined with the best material, make the great
Success,
The Smith Premier Typewriter



American Success Series in Book Form.—At the end of this year, the Smith Premier Typewriter Company will publish a handsome booklet containing pictures and brief biographies of twelve successful Americans who have profited by their use of stenography or typewriting. These books will be mailed free only to persons who send us their names and addresses, with request for same.

The Smith Premier Typewriter Co., Syracuse N. Y., U. S. A.



OLD CLUB HOUSE 1860 WHISKEY

WARRANTED PURE AND SOFTENED BY AGE ONLY.

MACY & JENKINS - 67 LIBERTY STREET, N.Y.
ESTABLISHED 1844.

Yost

LIGHT-RUNNING
NEW MODEL
QUIET
SWIFT
CONVENIENT

YOST WRITING MACHINE CO. 245 Broadway, New York.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Theory of Keeping Cigars

IN AIR-TIGHT BOXES IS UNSOUND

THE leaf of the tobacco plant is not dead when rolled into cigars. It still lives, and retains its power of breathing. If confined in an air-tight receptacle, after absorbing the oxygen, it dies, and the cigar loses aroma, flavor, and strength. It is moisture, especially sharp changes in humidity, which ruins cigars. If, therefore, a means can be devised of excluding this moisture, but of not excluding air, the problem of keeping cigars in the very best condition will have been solved.

The United States Government has granted us a

PATENT *for a* CIGAR BOX

which achieves this result. These boxes are of simple construction: the inner of plain cedar-wood, the outer, highly finished, of oak, walnut, or mahogany, and lined with a thick material, the chief component part of which is wool. This material absorbs all moisture, which it prevents, in conjunction with the inner cedar-wood box, from penetrating to the cigars. A simple device, however, admits air.

We have thoroughly tested these boxes. They are the only ones in existence which perfectly preserve cigars. For use at seaside resorts, or wherever humidity is excessive they are invaluable.

PRICES FROM $10 UPWARDS

Morten & Co., 44 Beaver St., New York

WINE MERCHANTS

Importers of Vintage Champagnes from London, Havana Cigars, Fine Brandies, etc.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

White Rock
LITHIA WATER

makes Grape Juice, Milk Lemonade, and still wines SPARKLING, DELICIOUS and HEALTHFUL.

Our booklet tells the White Rock story—free.

WHITE ROCK MINERAL SPRING COMPANY
Waukesha, Wisconsin.

BEST REPEATING SHOT GUN ONLY $15.75

Sportsmen write: "Spencer best gun in the world." No more after present lot sold. Original slide lever gun made of best forged steel, finest figured twist steel barrel. Double extractors. Take down system. Six shots in 3 seconds. Strongest repeater made. Send $5; gun sent C. O. D., balance $10.75 and expressage: examination allowed. F. Bannerman, 579 Broadway, N.Y.

GREAT RELIGIONS OF THE WORLD

We have published in book form the series of illuminating articles which have recently appeared in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW. It is a book of vast scope, written by the highest authorities on religion and religious history, and shows the influence of the world's great religions upon civilization during the past hundred years.

CONTENTS

Confucianism in the Nineteenth Century,
HERBERT A. GILES,
Professor of Chinese in Cambridge University
Buddhism . . T. W. RHYS DAVIDS,
Professor of Buddhist Literature in University College, London
Mohammedanism . . OSKAR MANN
Brahmanism . . Sir A. C. LYALL, K. C. B.
Zoroastrianism and the Parsis . D. MENANT
Sikhism and the Sikhs,
Sir LEPEL GRIFFIN, K. C. S. I.
Positivism: Its Position, Aims and Ideals,
FREDERIC HARRISON
Babism . . . E. DENISON ROSS,
Professor of Persian in University College, London
The Jews and Judaism in the Nineteenth Century,
Rev. M. GASTER
The Outlook for Christianity,
The Rev. WASHINGTON GLADDEN, D.D.
Catholic Christianity,
His Eminence, Cardinal GIBBONS

Sent to any address on receipt of $2.00 net (postage 15 cents extra) by

THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW
FRANKLIN SQUARE, N. Y.

AMERICA'S MOST POPULAR RAILWAY
CHICAGO AND ALTON
PERFECT PASSENGER SERVICE

BETWEEN

CHICAGO AND KANSAS CITY,
CHICAGO AND ST. LOUIS,
CHICAGO AND PEORIA,
ST. LOUIS AND KANSAS CITY.

THROUGH PULLMAN SERVICE
BETWEEN CHICAGO AND

HOT SPRINGS, Ark., DENVER, Colo.,
TEXAS, FLORIDA, UTAH,
CALIFORNIA AND OREGON.

IF YOU ARE CONTEMPLATING A TRIP, ANY PORTION OF WHICH CAN BE MADE OVER THE CHICAGO & ALTON, IT WILL PAY YOU TO WRITE TO THE UNDERSIGNED FOR RATES, MAPS, TIME-TABLES, ETC.

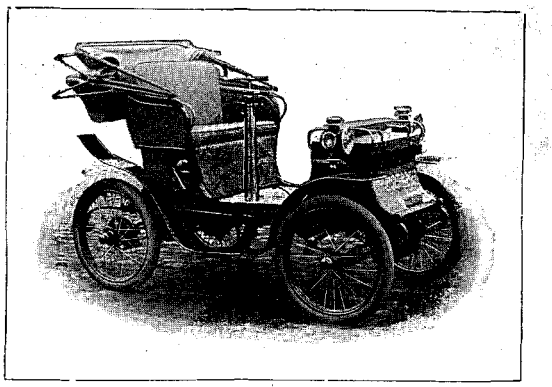
GEO. J. CHARLTON,
GENERAL PASSENGER AGENT,
CHICAGO, ILL.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DE DION-BOUTON "Motorette" COMPANY.

The DE DION is the

Standard Automobile System of the World



Illustrations, Prices, and Full Particulars may be obtained direct from us or from any of our agents, as follows:

L. M. GRANT, 147 Michigan Ave., Chicago
BANKER BROS.,
Baum and Beatty Sts., Pittsburg, Pa.;
262 No. Broad St., Philadelphia, Pa.
P. C. LEWIS, 33 Stanhope St., Boston
H. G. MARTIN & CO.,
200 W. Exchange St., Providence, R. I.
WORCESTER MOTORETTE CO.,
24 Washington St., Worcester, Mass.
AUTO. & MANUFACTURING CO.,
872 Park Ave., Baltimore, Md.
INDIANAPOLIS AUTO. & BICYCLE CO.,
878 Virginia Ave., Indianapolis, Ind.
BARDO & CALVERT CO.,
489 Broad St., Newark, N. J.
F. G. ROBINSON, 422 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.

JOHN M. SCHMIDT,
17 Railroad Place, East Orange, N. J.
GEO. G. REED, Esq., North Abington, Mass.
E. W. RUSSELL,
15 Fourth St., New Bedford, Mass.
GREGORY S. BRYAN, Bridgeport, Conn.
W. G. NORWOOD, Paterson, N. J.
W. J. MOORE, Caro, Mich.
L. L. WHITMAN, Pasadena, Cal.
J. S. ROGERS, Stanwick, N. J.
LE ROY S. WHITE, Waterbury, Conn.
57 WEST 66th ST., New York City
TRANSPORTATION BLDG., PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION, BUFFALO, N. Y.

De Dion-Bouton "Motorette" Co.

CHURCH LANE and 37th ST. ✂ BROOKLYN, N. Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

CALIFORNIA

Reached in the greatest luxury by the magnificent trans-continental train

THE

OVERLAND LIMITED

MOST LUXURIOUS TRAIN IN THE WORLD

Leaving Chicago 8 p. m. every day and reaching San Francisco in less than three days.

The best of everything.

Compartment Observation Cars; Drawing-Room Cars; all meals in Dining Cars; Buffet-Library Cars (with Barber and Bath); electric reading lamp in every berth.

ELECTRIC LIGHTED THROUGHOUT

Two other fast trains daily leaving Chicago at 10 a. m. and 11.30 p. m. Round-trip tickets from Chicago at $50.00 on sale August 2 to 10; special excursion rates on all other days.

CHICAGO & NORTH-WESTERN
UNION PACIFIC AND
SOUTHERN PACIFIC RAILWAYS

Tickets from any railway agent.

THE

EQUITABLE

"STRONGEST IN THE WORLD"

J.W.ALEXANDER PRESIDENT

J.H.HYDE VICE PRESIDENT

DO YOU KNOW ?

That you can buy 5% Gold Bonds on instalments - and meanwhile have them insured.

A good investment for *you* - if you live. A splendid protection for *your family* - if you die.

For full information fill up and mail coupon below.

THE EQUITABLE SOCIETY, Dept. No. 9.
120 Broadway, New York.

Please send me information regarding your new issue of Gold Bonds. Base figures on a block of $..... issued to a man..... years of age.

Name.....

Address.....

R. YOOK, N.Y.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Real Estate Trust Company

....OF PHILADELPHIA....

S. E. Corner Chestnut and Broad Streets.

Full-Paid Capital, - - - - $1,500,000
Surplus and Undivided Profits, - 1,200,000

Receives Deposits of Money payable by check, and allows Interest thereon. Collects Interest, Dividends, and Income of all kinds whatsoever.

Receives for safe keeping Securities and other valuables, and rents Safe Deposit Boxes in Burglar Proof Vaults. Buys, sells, and leases Real Estate in Philadelphia and its vicinity. Assumes general charge and management of Real and Personal Estates.

Executes Trusts of every description under the appointment of Courts, Corporations, and Individuals. Acts as Registrar or Transfer Agent for Corporations and as Trustee under Corporation Mortgages. Receives Wills for safe keeping without charge.

FRANK K. HIPPLE, President.
GEORGE PHILLER, Vice-President.
WILLIAM F. NORTH, Treasurer.
WILLIAM R. PHILLER, Secretary.
THOMAS B. PROSSER, Real Estate Officer.
ROBERT D. GHRISKEY, Cashier.
M. S. COLLINGWOOD, Asst. Treasurer.
ROLAND L. TAYLOR, Asst. Secretary.

DIRECTORS:

FRANK K. HIPPLE,
CHARLES W. HENRY,
JOHN F. BETZ,
EDWARD P. BORDEN,
GEORGE PHILLER,
JOSEPH DE F. JUNKIN,
WILLIAM W. PORTER,
JOHN H. CONVERSE,
R. DALE BENSON,
WILLIAM A. PATTON,
S. WEIR MITCHELL, M.D.,
SAMUEL F. HOUSTON.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Save Some of this Money

Don't pay two men for the work that one could easily do! Reduce your expenses and increase your profits by using—

Baker-Vawter Systems

The 20th Century Methods—used by progressive business men everywhere. They facilitate speed and accuracy in getting out orders; they prevent the delay of an order; they enable all invoices to be mailed the same day shipment is made; they instantly locate errors to clerks making them; they furnish a comprehensive statement at the close of each month; they provide a double check on all entries. **Write us.** We can save you money.

BAKER-VAWTER COMPANY, 844 Chamber of Commerce, Chicago, Ill.
Accountants, Auditors, Devisers of Business Systems.

MYSELF CURED I will gladly inform anyone addicted to **COCAINE, MORPHINE, OPIUM OR LAUDANUM,** of a never-failing harmless Home Cure. Address Mrs. M. F. Baldwin, Box 1212, Chicago, Ills.

$7.50 for 5-SHOT SOUVENIR MAUSER RIFLE

$10.00 for serviceable gun with box ctgs. $12.50 for gun like new with sporting model stock and box ctgs. Mausers are the best high-power rifle made. Range 2 miles, penetration through ¾ inch iron. Send $3.50; gun sent C.O.D. for balance and expressage; examination allowed. 5,000,000 Cartridges, $2.50 per 1,000. Discount for Export Orders. **F. BANNERMAN, 579 Broadway, New York.**

HASKINS & SELLS
Certified Public Accountants
30 BROAD ST., NEW YORK
204 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. **30 Coleman Street, London, E. C.**

If the Baby is Cutting Teeth,

Be sure and use that old and well-tried remedy, MRS. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP for children teething. It soothes the child, softens the gums, allays all pain, cures wind colic, and is the best remedy for diarrhœa. Twenty-five cents a bottle.

The Provident Life & Trust Co.
OF PHILADELPHIA.

Insurance in Force, $141,974,722.00 Assets, $46,144,797.71

Low Death Rate; Small Expense Rate; Conservative Management.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Number
XXXX

The Prudential Insurance Co. OF AMERICA.

HOME OFFICE, NEWARK, N. J.

Insurance on the Life of

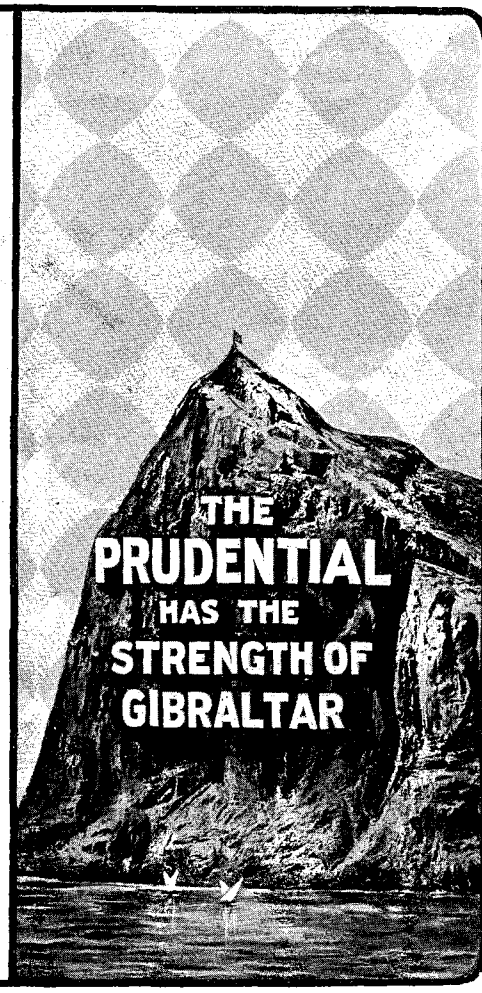
John Brown

Amount $ 10,000

Date July 1st 1902

Age 35

Annual Premium $ 290.60



A 5% Gold Bond Policy Like This

will furnish your beneficiary

A Guaranteed Income

for 20 years of 5% payable in Gold, then $10,000 in Cash.

A Perfect Life Insurance Investment.

Write for information. Dept. 5.

THE PRUDENTIAL

Insurance Company of America

JOHN F. DRYDEN, President **Home Office, NEWARK, N. J.**

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WILLIAM BLACK

NOVELIST

By Sir WEMYSS REID

The life of the great novelist reads like a story. The author, Sir Wemyss Reid, was Black's personal friend. Most readers are familiar with at least two or three of Black's novels—"Madcap Violet," or "Shandon Bells," or "A Daughter of Heth." No one before now has known from any published work Black the man. You will find him a most entertaining new friend.

Crown 8vo. Gilt Top, Uncut Edges, $2.25 net (postage extra)

AN ONLOOKER'S NOTE-BOOK

By the Author of "Collections and Recollections"

This is a volume that will entertain you—thoroughly amuse and entertain you—in spite of yourself. It is one of the few volumes that comes once in a while and simply demands to be read. One is never too tired to hear a good story. This book is full of good stories and humorous anecdotes of people you have always heard of and of hundreds more you will hear of with interest for the first time. The author—the son of an English peer—is one of the best-known members of the English Parliament.

Gilt Top, Uncut Edges
$2.25 net (postage extra)

MEDITATIONS of an AUTOGRAPH COLLECTOR

By ADRIAN H. JOLINE

The title may be a trifle misleading. You will not find a collection of autographs. You *will* find the witty, gossipy "meditations" of the author, his experiences with notable people all over the world, and a vast store of humorous anecdote and comment upon poets, authors, kings, queens—celebrities everywhere. Some letters, as, for instance, from Queen Victoria, Robert Burns, etc., are reproduced. But the author has spent his time in this volume not in showing his collection of autographs, but in being *interesting* in what he has to say.

Half Leather, Gold Stamping
$3.00 net (postage extra)

HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW YORK

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Pen of the

Sea and Land

Waterman's Ideal Fountain Pen

Does not get sea-sick.
Takes Kindly to "roughing it."

L. E. Waterman Co.
173 Broadway, N.Y. 12 Golden Lane, London.

From its earliest days, away back in 1786, EVANS' ALE has enjoyed widespread popularity because of its purity and singular excellence.

It is preferred and praised by every lover of good brewing and perfect bottling wherever ale-drinking is known.

Any Dealer Anywhere, or address
C. H. Evans & Sons, Hudson, N. Y.

"A genuine old Brandy made from Wine."
—*Medical Press (London), August, 1899.*

MARTELL'S THREE STAR BRANDY

For sale throughout the civilized world

MARTELL & CO., COGNAC.
(Founded 1715.)

C. S. NICHOLAS, NEW YORK.
Sole Agent for the United States.

HEARD OVER THE COCOA CUPS

"Man wants but little here below,
But wants that little good-"
as good as a cup of
Huyler's COCOA or CHOCOLATE
AT
BREAKFAST AND SUPPER

SOLD BY YOUR NEAREST GROCER.

VOSE PIANOS

have been established over 50 YEARS. By our system of payments every family in moderate circumstances can own a VOSE piano. We take old instruments in exchange and deliver the new piano in your home free of expense. Write for Catalogue D and explanations.

VOSE & SONS PIANO CO., 160 Boylston Street, Boston, Mass.

PROPERTY OF THE BPL
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED